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## 14 members of doomsday cult arrested

By AMY KLEIN  
and news agencies

Police yesterday detained eight adults and six children belonging to a Denver-based apocalyptic Christian cult and accused the group of planning violent acts in Jerusalem.

They said that the group planned to provoke a bloody shoot-out by opening fire on policemen, and that members of the group believe that this act would hasten the second coming of Jesus.

"They planned to carry out violent and extreme acts in the streets of Jerusalem at the end of 1999 to start the process of bringing Jesus back to life," said Dep.-Comm. Elihu Ben-Onn, the national police spokesman.

The arrests were carried out to protect certain sectors of the Israeli population and members of the cult themselves, who blindly follow a leader who is now overseas, the police statement said. The cult's leader has been identified as Monte Kim Miller. He is said to have told his followers he would die in Jerusalem in December 1999 and be resurrected three days later.

The cult members, three families and individuals, did not resist arrest when police raided two houses in Mevaseret Zion and Motza. The General Security Service was heavily involved in the arrests.

Police would not release the names of any of those arrested, but said they would be held for a minimum of 24 hours. Jerusalem police spokesman Shmuel Ben-Ruby said police would like to have the suspects deported to the US with the help of the Interior Ministry. There are reportedly no plans to try them here.

See CULT, Page 2

# PM: Lieberman's party 'divisive'

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu had some harsh words yesterday for his former director-general, Avigdor Lieberman, who attacked the nation's legal system and police while announcing he is forming a new immigrant party.

"I'm not a party to Lieberman's sweeping attacks on the judiciary and law enforcement authorities," Netanyahu said after Lieberman's news conference in Tel Aviv.

A statement from the Prime Minister's Office called Lieberman's remarks divisive and said the addition of another party increases the fragmentation of the political system.

Despite Netanyahu's criticism, sources in the Likud said they believe Netanyahu and Lieberman are coordinating their moves and that Lieberman is setting up the new list as a satellite party to the Likud, a means of gaining more votes for Netanyahu.

Lieberman said he plans for his new party, Yisrael Beiteinu (Israel is our Home), to run in the Knesset

elections expected to be held on May 17.

Lieberman, who said his motive for forming the party is that he has been rejected by the Likud leadership, said he will do everything in his power to get Netanyahu elected prime minister. Sources close to Lieberman, however, said that if Netanyahu loses, Lieberman may join a coalition with the winner.

## The many faces of Avigdor Lieberman, Page 2

At his press conference, Lieberman said the country has turned into a "bureaucratic dictatorship" and a police state ruled by an oligarchy, which runs the state through the Supreme Court, the police, the State Attorney's Office, and the Treasury's budget division.

"This is the war of democracy against oligarchy," he said. "This is the war of the rabble, which is the majority - Habad people, new immigrants, development towns,

settlers, and haredim - against the elites of Rehavia and Ramat Aviv Gimmel. We are the majority and we will change the distribution between the good guys and the bad guys."

"There are no elites in Israel. What we have is a social oligarchy, interested in nothing but what happens in the other's plate, or in his bank account, or between his sheets."

"The government has turned into a marginal factor in running the state, which is really operated by four establishments, which are much stronger than the government and impose their positions on it," he said.

Lieberman devoted a major part of his speech to the Likud leadership.

"If there's anything in Israeli politics I despise and cannot accept, it's the phenomenon of the 'princes.' [Dan] Meridor said Netanyahu had taken over the Likud, albeit democratically," Lieberman said.

See LIEBERMAN, Page 2

## More than just playing the outsider

Before deliberating the rights or wrongs of Avigdor Lieberman's controversial and confrontational pronouncements at his press conference yesterday, it would perhaps be helpful to recall just a couple of other quotes by other speakers.

Not long ago a furor was raised when *The Jerusalem Post* revealed that finance minister Yisrael Beiteinu had accused American immigrants of tax evasion: "You do not pay taxes here or in America," he snapped.

In October, 1995 then prime

## ANALYSIS

By SARAH HONIG

minister Yitzhak Rabin told English-speaking immigrant protesters heckling him at The Event, organized by the Post at the Wingate Institute, to "go back to your countries."

He then went on to assert that they "didn't fight for this land, didn't build it, came only recently, and don't have the right to

judge its action or direction."

If these utterances offended any readers, then perhaps it is not all that difficult to understand where Lieberman is coming from - except that in his case it may be worse.

"Anglo-Saxons" are held in high esteem by most Israelis and do not occupy the bottom rungs of the socio-economic ladder. This is not at all so in the case of newcomers from the former USSR.

See ANALYSIS, Page 2

## North tense after Lebanese civilians reported wounded by IAF

By DAVID HODGE

The northern border was tense last night, following reports that several Lebanese civilians, including children, had been wounded in an IAF raid on Hizbullah targets near Baalbek.

The accidental killing of a woman and six of her children in air strikes on the same targets on December 22 prompted retaliatory Katyusha attacks on the Golan Heights. Sixteen people were hurt and scores of apartments and public buildings were damaged.

Residents of the North were not given instructions to enter bomb shelters yesterday, unlike after the earlier incident, although some said they would sleep in security rooms as a precaution.

The IDF Spokesman stressed that the targets hit in the IAF raid were outside of residential areas. The

spokesman said the planes had struck at a Hizbullah training base near Janna village and the organization's "Voice of the Oppressed" radio station north of Baalbek. All the planes returned safely.

These were the same targets as on December 22, only on that occasion one of the planes dropped its bombs some 300 meters short of the training base. A farmhouse was hit, resulting in the woman and six of her children being killed.

Hizbullah described yesterday's raid as "a new violation" by Israel of the Grapes of Wrath understandings. A statement broadcast on the organization's other radio station, known as "Nur" (light), said seven civilians - including women, children and two elderly men - were lightly wounded.

The statement did not, however, contain any specific threats of retaliatory action, unlike on the previ-

ous occasion.

Deputy Hizbullah leader Sheikh Naim Kassam was quoted as saying that the organization "reserves the right to hit back at the time and place of our choosing."

A veteran Lebanese observer said this seems to indicate that Hizbullah's response, when it comes, would be "a calculated one which would probably not cross the border."

There was also some confusion over the number and description of those reported to have been wounded. Some Lebanese radio stations said the casualties included a Syrian soldier, as well as a woman and four of her children.

Furthermore, there were reports that Syrian and Hizbullah gunmen had fired at the planes as they attacked the targets.

See NORTH, Page 2

## Chief rabbis ready to consider civil marriage in some cases

By LIAT COLLINS

The Chief Rabbinate would not object to a system of civil marriage in cases where neither partner is recognized by the rabbinate as Jewish or in which one of the partners is not halachically able to be married, Sephardi Chief Rabbi Eliahu Bakshi-Doron told MKs yesterday.

In a meeting with Yisrael Be'aliya whip Roman Brofman and Law Committee chairman Haim Porat (National Religious Party), Bakshi-Doron said there are "painful" cases in which civil marriage could be considered.

A bill by Brofman on the matter

has passed preliminary reading and is now in the Law Committee being prepared for second and third readings.

The Chief Rabbinate's approval is an unprecedented breakthrough and proves that it is possible to reach an agreement even on controversial issues, when we are talking about real problems for the public, Brofman said. "The bill is aimed at finding a solution to the problem of thousands of couples who immigrated in recent years and have no possibility of getting married in Israel. Providing civil marriage for all those who have no other possible way of getting married here is a reasonable proposal."

He said the problem stems from the fact that all marriages in Israel are through religious establishments. If, for example, a new immigrant couple is not recognized as halachically Jewish by the Chief Rabbinate they have no means of marrying in another recognized framework.

During the meeting, the conversion bill issue also came up in passing. Bakshi-Doron apparently repeated the opposition of the Chief Rabbinate to the part of the Neeman Committee proposals under which, although all conversions here would have to be according to Halacha, the institutes preparing converts would have teachers from different streams. It is not clear the bill would have the necessary support to pass.

Bakshi-Doron, however, reportedly does not object to the idea of the nationality-religion clause being removed from identity cards.

The Law Committee is scheduled to discuss the conversion bill this morning in preparation for second and third readings. Porat has said he would try to include the Neeman proposals in the bill.

BS'D Tevet 5759

# FOR THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL FOR THE LAND OF ISRAEL WE MUST UNITE

- The Holy Land is in danger.
- The Oslo and Wye Accords may cause the rise of a Palestinian state in the heart of Eretz Yisrael.
- Jerusalem may be divided.
- The Holy Land may be torn apart, placing dozens of communities in mortal danger.
- The Lubavitcher Rebbe; Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson O.B.M, explicitly warned that relinquishing parts of the Land of Israel endangers the Jewish people.

At this fateful juncture,

# WE MUST ALL UNITE

To ensure the election of a strong right-wing government which will withstand the pressures at home and abroad, and safeguard the security of the nation and the integrity of the land.

**We must not repeat**

the terrible mistake of 1992 when factionalism won, and the Land of Israel lost.

**We must remember**

another left wing victory would be a disaster compounded; A tragedy for generations to come.

**We must unite**

behind the candidate who has the best chance to win, who will prevent the creation of a Palestinian state in the heart of Israel and keep undivided Jerusalem the capital of Israel forever.

Joseph Isaac Gutnick, Melbourne, Australia  
Emissary of the Lubavitcher Rebbe for the integrity of the Land of Israel



770783 913023



# MKs expected to pass final readings of elections bill

By NINA GILBERT

The Knesset is expected today to approve by a large majority the second and final readings of the bill to cut short the term of the 14th Knesset and hold early elections on May 17, despite attempts over the past few days by far-right elements to organize an attempt to torpedo the passage of the bill.

A majority of at least 61 MKs to ensure the final approval of the legislation was already considered to be a fait accompli last week, when the Likud and Labor par-

ties negotiated on an agreed election date, in coordination with Meretz and Shas.

The bill passed in first reading by a vote of 81-30, when Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu gave in to a tide of opposition two weeks ago and the government threw its support behind the early elections initiative.

The National Religious Party denied yesterday that it was organizing the attempt to block the bill, despite reports to the contrary.

Instead, the finger was pointed entirely at settlement leaders, who have been

confirmed as trying to lobby MKs to vote against the bill.

Several Likud MKs voted against the bill, but a large majority supported Netanyahu's position. Other coalition partners which supported the bill were Tsomet and The Third Way.

Coalition chairman Meir Sheetrit said he would be "very surprised" if there were not at least 61 MKs supporting the bill today.

None of the NRP MKs supported the first reading of the bill, either voting against, abstaining or absenting them-

selves. The party had been wavering on its support for early elections as a means to pressure the prime minister to freeze the next withdrawal in the Wye accord.

NRP MK Hanan Porat, who is active in the Land of Israel Front, said he had heard about the initiatives, and would himself again abstain in the vote.

"I am not interested in the dissolution of this Knesset, after the prime minister reconsidered and set conditions that prevented the continuation of the disastrous withdrawals," he said on Israel Radio.

He also noted that "it is a bit too late

(for the initiative), and I believe that it will not succeed."

MK Michael Kleiner, one of the four front MKs who voted in favor of the bill in first reading, said he was not approached by those seeking to block the bill.

Others who supported the bill were Moledet MKs Benny Elon and Rehavam Ze'evi, and Ze'ev (Benny) Begin.

A spokesman for Moledet said settler council elements and others had again asked them to change their position, but they were standing firm in their support for early elections.

After the bill is approved, the Knesset House Committee must meet to decide on the date for dissolution of the Knesset.

It is expected that the 14th Knesset will end its session with the start of Pessah recess on March 17.

Knesset Speaker Dan Tichon has recommended to the committee that due to party primaries no plenum sessions be held from February 2 until the end of February, in order to ensure sufficient turnout for votes. The sessions would then be renewed at the beginning of March until the Pessah recess.

## The many faces of Avigdor Lieberman

### BACKGROUND

By LIAT COLLINS

At the height of his power, the *Hartza* political satire television show featured a puppet of Avigdor Lieberman called "Vladimir."

He was depicted as the ruling force in the Prime Minister's Office who told Benjamin Netanyahu what to do and shouted when the premier interrupted his important work as office director-general.

It summed up the media's double image of Lieberman as the outsider and as the premier's eminence grise.

No figure in Israeli politics has so often been likened to Rasputin, though voters will have to decide for themselves whether this image is based on facts or on stereotypes.

Certainly a heavy Russian accent and a heavy bodyframe did not help his image and emphasizes the differences between him and the Likud princes he again blasted yesterday.

In what he likes to call "the Russian street," Lieberman is both a hero for making it and an underdog for being ousted from the top. His detractors say he is less an underdog and more a rotweiler.

Lieberman, 40, came here from Moldova in 1979 which, as his supporters note, should be long enough for him to be treated as a regular citizen and not a newly arrived member of the Mafia.

He lives with his wife and three children at Nokdim, a small rural settlement in north Judea which apparently suits his national-Zionist outlook as well as his academic training at Kishinev's Agriculture Institute, where he studied before making aliyah.

He is popularly known as Yvet, although he doesn't remember where the name comes from other than that it started in his student days at the Hebrew University between 1979 and 1982.

He was well known as a right-wing activist there while he studied for his BA in international relations and Russian literature.

Not only his nickname followed

him in his post-university life. His student job as the bouncer at the Givat Ram campus bar also continues to haunt him, making an image change even more difficult.

There are some who say the name Yvet was coined by Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi, but Hanegbi denies it. In fact, Hanegbi has played down their former friendship in recent years.

This is not surprising. Lieberman's name appeared in a huge number of "affairs" - from the doomed Bar-On appointment to the alleged forgery of Israel Broadcasting Authority records and alleged fraud concerning Geshet, the immigrant party he headed.

He has never been indicted, however.

His downfall came after the Likud convention in November 1997, when he was accused by Communications Minister Limor Livnat and then-science minister Michael Eitan of leading a plot to discontinue the primary system for electing the party list for the Knesset.

His close friend and veteran Likud activist, Moshe Dolgin, noted that Lieberman, as the prime minister's director-general, "had to put up with an unprecedented 12 police investigations in one year and had to cope with the deliberate police leaks relating to them."

Lieberman's attack on the police and justice system, yesterday was therefore not new or surprising.

"If anything it was toned down. In August 1997, when he faced an investigation into possible connections with alleged Russian mafia figure Zvi Ben-Ari (aka Gregory Lerner), as well as claims he had not paid back a loan to the Geshet group, Lieberman let loose in a press conference with a scathing attack on police investigator Cmdr. Sando Mazor, who also looked into the Bar-On Affair.

"Personal knowledge of the investigations Division's work methods has led me to reach difficult conclusions," he said.



Jerusalem police detectives load boxes of evidence taken from a home in the Mevasseret Zion suburb yesterday, after arresting members of the Denver-based apocalyptic Concerned Christian cult. (AP)

### CULT

Continued from Page 1

The raid was led by Jerusalem police chief Cmdr. Yair Yitzhaki. A US Embassy official said that a consular official would visit those arrested as soon as possible.

A senior police source said the

cult members believe that being killed by police "would lead them to heaven." He said many of the violent acts were planned for the Old City and that one possible location was the Temple Mount.

Police said the cult was financed by funds raised overseas, not necessarily in the US.

"They were so nice, so quiet, so polite," said neighbor Rami

Hanono of Mevasseret. He said the children didn't appear to attend school and were at home all the time.

Seventy-eight members of the Concerned Christians cult disappeared from Denver, Colorado, in October, and are believed to be living in the Jerusalem area.

According to a 1997 affidavit by Nicolette Weaver, 16, filed in

a district court in Colorado, awarding her father sole custody of her, her mother - a cult member - had said she would kill her if ordered to by Miller.

"My mother told me in August '96 that we have only 40 months left on Earth," the affidavit said. "My mother told me that if Kim Miller told her to kill me, she would."

### LIEBERMAN

Continued from Page 1

"This is the logic of the princely democracy: If one of the princes wins, it's a real victory, a democratic one: if someone else wins, it's a takeover. And not merely a takeover, but by people recently arrived," he said.

Lieberman then blasted the leaders of the future center party, calling it "a coalition of ambition, devoid of friendship or policy, in which nobody wants to give in to the other for the cause."

Lieberman lashed out at the image of a tyrant given him "by the media," stating: "I don't rule. I love meeting people in the branches and they love me back. I've never imposed my opinion or dis-

tributed lists [the notorious elimination lists in the Likud internal elections], but I stayed an alien transplant in the eyes of the Likud leadership."

"They saw me as a threat to the right order. This is a real threat to that thin layer which concentrates the wealth and power in its hands, and they understood it all too well. They fought me tooth and nail, no holds barred, income tax reports, testimony to investigators, inciting the police and State Attorney's Office against me."

Deputy Minister Michael Eitan called Lieberman a menace to democracy and the Likud's greatest enemy.

"What's frightening about him is his cynical ability to stoop to the lowest levels of hatred, manipulate feelings of discrimination, and

exploit flaws in the democratic system, trying to turn them into something anti-democratic and totalitarian," Eitan said.

He warned that Lieberman "combines business and politics, maintains ties with shady types... He has so-called round-the-world businesses, whose financial source nobody knows; he won't reveal his financial sources, and now he's trying to penetrate the Knesset."

"Lieberman is a danger to democracy and the rule of law. His speech is one of the most dangerous we've ever heard in Israel, especially since it is addressed to recently arrived immigrants who are new to democracy here," said Meridor.

Meretz leader Yossi Sarid called Lieberman's press conference "a horror show of aggres-

sion and an attack on the cornerstones of Israeli democracy, with the aim of undermining them. The voice is Lieberman's, but the hands pulling the strings are Netanyahu's."

Yisrael Ba'aliya leader Natan Sharansky said that in contrast to Lieberman's list, his party supports integration and being part of society, as well as strengthening law and order and the values of democracy.

Opposition head Ehud Barak said that the judicial system is a pillar of the nation and it ought to be respected. "If anyone has allowed their status to be belittled, it is the current government, in which Lieberman served a key role," said Barak.

Liav Collins and Danna Harman contributed to this report.

## Landau: The Likud is a 'dying' movement

Likud MK Uzi Landau kicked off his campaign to challenge Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu for the Likud leadership last night at a rally in Petah Tikva.

Speaking of his party as a "dying movement," Landau told his supporters that "the chances of Likud winning with Netanyahu are close to zero. Some of our colleagues in the field are ashamed of us."

He said the Likud was a "dying movement, branches are shutting and party institutions are paralyzed."

Earlier yesterday, Landau met with Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai. He said afterwards that he sought "to remove the difficult question marks regarding Mordechai's future plans."

Landau added that he asked Mordechai to continue to act within the Likud for the sake of party unity.

Landau refused to reveal other details of the meeting but said he has plans for them to hold another session.

(Him)

### ANALYSIS

Continued from Page 1

Many feel misunderstood, maligned, and even despised. It may not always really be true and it may not be deliberate, but some see it so. This perception is a potentially potent political factor which could come back to haunt those who make little of it.

There is nothing easier than to heap scorn on Lieberman's lack of reverence for our judicial system and social structure. Those politicians, Left and Right, who issue sanctimonious outcries will be missing the point and quite possibly be doing their own causes great injury. It would be more expedient to step back, resist the temptation to strike a trendy pose, temporarily suspend personal likes and dislikes, and try to examine whether there is not something to what Lieberman says.

The objective merits of his charges matter less than the subjective perception. If this is really how Lieberman grasps the situation, and, more importantly, if a sizable number of immigrants feel alienated and disenfranchised, then he has turned the spotlight on a social problem which should not be handled by shooting the messenger.

Even the Likud higher-ups who rushed to register shrill indignation at Lieberman's gall, admitted privately that he is sincere in his disaffection. A leading Likud "prince" said that "Lieberman is speaking from the gut."

Those who knew Lieberman as a top Likud power broker and as director-general of the Prime Minister's Office, will readily attest to how slighted he was by jokes which referred to him as Vladimir and nicknamed him KGB.

They perhaps provoked aggressive and abrasive retorts from

him, not helped by his thick Russian accent.

The sardonic bluntness and defensive overreaction perhaps also arise from a different political culture, though Israelis are not famous for their underestimation and genteel politics.

His gentlemanly demeanor notwithstanding, Dan Meridor, for instance, hit below the belt when at his recent press conference he accused Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of having come to Israel 10 years ago and usurped the Likud.

Besides being factually misleading, this statement was most telling because Meridor is not the only one who regards Netanyahu as an interloper.

The Israeli establishment - political, social, economic, scientific, intellectual, and artistic - is all but inaccessible to outsiders. Those who ridicule Lieberman should examine the network of

close ties - by bloodlines, by marriage, by social connections - which bind the political upper echelons in this country.

Whether all this will propel Lieberman into the Knesset depends on how deep a chord he strikes.

Pollsters' predictions are thoroughly suspect here. Those conducted thus far were commissioned by interested parties.

Polls also have a poor record with "special sectors," like immigrants and religious communities. Besides, considering the regimes under which most of the immigrants grew up, they might not trust the pollsters enough to reveal where they really stand.

## Poll: Only 4% of immigrants back Lieberman

By ELI WOHLGELER

The effect of Avigdor Lieberman and his new party in the political race is negligible, according to a recent poll conducted by Yisrael Ba'aliya.

In a poll conducted a week ago among 800 Russian speakers who immigrated after 1989, Lieberman's standing is currently at 4 percent of their vote. His candidacy, however, does leave more new immigrants undecided.

"Lieberman's entry into the race results in little support for his own party among olim, but puts a lot of new immigrants on the fence," said Ron Derman, pollster and adviser to Yisrael Ba'aliya. "His potential to increase support is there, because a third of olim are still undecided."

Without Lieberman's party, Yisrael Ba'aliya receives 46% support among new immigrants, with 22% undecided; with Lieberman's new party, Yisrael Ba'aliya drops to 32% with an additional 37% undecided.

The poll had a margin of error of 3.6%.

On the question of whether they view Lieberman favorably, 28% of respondents view him favorably, 11% view him unfavorably, and 46% have no opinion. Yisrael Ba'aliya leader Natan Sharansky, by contrast, was viewed favorably by 53% and unfavorably by 16%.

## Amor, Sheetrit mooted for cabinet

By DANNA HARMAN

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu is thinking about appointing Likud MKs Shaul Amor and MK Meir Sheetrit to ministerial positions, his spokesman Aviv Bushinsky confirmed yesterday.

Bushinsky said no decision had been made, but the nominations are possible. There are no plans to appoint Amor as ambassador to Belgium, Bushinsky said.

The ministerial posts that are open are Finance and National Infrastructure, which Foreign Minister Ariel Sharon was supposed to have vacated three months after taking on the Foreign Ministry, which was in October.

Sheetrit, who met Netanyahu yesterday and is said to be demanding the Finance portfolio, told Channel 1 that if he were given the appointment: "I won't implement an 'election economy' if I can help it."

Michal Yudelevman contributed to this report.

On the sixth anniversary of the passing of our dear

**JOSHUA (Solty) KLAPISCH** ז"ל

son of Rabbi Mordechai.

We will gather at his graveside for a memorial ceremony today, Monday, January 4, 1999, 16 Tevet 5759, at 2:30 p.m. at the Sayon Cemetery.

On this occasion we will also honor the memory of his wife, who passed away six months ago.

**BLIMA (Blanche) ז"ל**  
daughter of Ya'acov Lax.

The Family

Our beloved

**JACOB M. ALKOW**

is no more

The funeral will be, God willing, today Monday, 4.1.99 at 12:00 noon in the Cemetery of Herzliya

Mourners: Minty, Son Michael, Daughter Hedvah, Grandchildren Eric, Jesse, Jonathan, Semadar, Sarai, Hanna, Ehud, Yohai, David, and all the family

In deep sorrow we announce the death of our beloved mother and grandmother

**HANNA GREENFEST** ז"ל

אשת חיים

The funeral will take place today, Monday, January 4, 1999 at 3 p.m. at the Shamgar Funeral Parlor and then leave for the Mt. of Olives.

Leo and Helene Greenfest, Roslyn, New York  
Ira and Fran Greenfest, Teaneck, New Jersey

**Clarification**

The e-mail address of IDF soldier Alexey Yermenko that appeared on Page 2 of yesterday's edition has been changed to alexey1@netvision.net.il

**NORTH**

Continued from Page 1

Other reports said it was Lebanese Army and not Syrian troops who fired anti-aircraft guns.

Reports from Lebanon said two jets fired two rockets at the Hizbullah training base, and four warplanes fired six rockets at the Voice of the Oppressed radio station. The radio station's antenna appeared to have been hit and there were reports of serious disruptions to broadcasts.

Lebanese television stations showed pictures of a woman and two men being treated in a hospital after the attack, apparently suffering from shock and light injuries.

\*\*\*\*\*

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## 'Let's get rid of Barak'

Ehud Barak's campaign trip to the North caused a stir even before it began yesterday, with the arrest of an airfield security guard in Kiryat Shmona. The guard, 26-year-old Yair Ben-Abu, was detained after a General Security Service agent overheard him making threats on Barak's life - less than half an hour before Barak touched down at the airfield.

According to Galilee police spokesman Nissim Idan, Ben-Abu said he wished he could "get rid of Barak and those like him" - which led to his arrest. Ben-Abu's pistol was confiscated, and he was held for questioning.

"I regret the things I said," Ben-Abu told Kiryat Shmona Magistrate's Court. "Don't destroy my life because of a thoughtless remark. I've got a wife and kids. I'm not a child who does silly things."

Judge Bracha Samson remanded him for four days, and the private security firm for which he worked announced that he had been fired.

Throughout the day, people in Kiryat Shmona approached Barak and asked him to forgive Ben-Abu, saying he was a "good kid" who had spoken in jest.

"He wasn't thinking," said fellow airport worker Jacki Vaknin, "and Barak should not be offended, and should forgive him." Barak, who was initially unaware of the commotion, said that as far as he was concerned, if Ben-Abu had expressed remorse, he was forgiven.

Danna Harman

# Barak takes a social message to the North

## ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL

Labor Party leader Ehud Barak's campaign team left Tel Aviv at 4 a.m. yesterday, speeding north in the darkness with four flag-bedecked mini-vans and a troupe of energetic activists, aides, and advisers. Three-and-a-half hours, one car accident, and two near misses later, they reached Kiryat Shmona - and the race was on.

Barak came north with a message - a message of priorities. This election, he told a felaful stand owner in Metulla, is about education.

It is also about health, he told a Russian woman at the Kiryat Shmona home for the aged.

It is about children, he told a statistics class at the Tel Hsi college. And it's about jobs, he told an Arab shoemaker in Karmiel. "Peace," he said, "is what we need - but we need it so we can get on with the real problems in our society."

Some in the Likud have warned that Barak plans to base his campaign on attacking Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu personally. But Barak barely mentioned Netanyahu's name on his first official day of campaigning.

The centrist party politicians have indicated that Barak's leanings are "too left," that in his willingness to accommodate the Palestinians, he will lose the support of the masses. But Barak steered clear of any sweeping calls for getting on with the peace process. In fact, he barely mentioned the process at all.

What he did talk about were the major social and economic problems the country is facing. Those issues that people, wherever they are, wherever they live, and whatever their political leanings may be, want something to be done about.

"What bothers you?" he asked a class of autistic children in Kiryat Shmona. "The lack of school lunches," said principal Devora.

"What bothers you?" he asked Sima, a nursery school teacher in Metulla. "The lack of care for babies below the age of three," she said as she picked up Lego pieces, "that and the Katynshas."

"And you?" he asked Dora, a Russian immigrant whose small apartment was hit by a Katyusha last year. "The lack of good public transportation," she said. "And have I showed you the place where the Katyusha hit my television set?"

Barak can't promise to get rid of the Katyushas any more than Netanyahu can. And while he has definite ideas on how to deal with the Lebanon quagmire and the Syria government, as well as how to work with the Palestinians, he knows well that he will not get a chance to try those ideas if he is not in power.

And, it seems, judging by the opening shots of his campaign, that he believes he has a better chance of assuming power if he concentrates on a social agenda that speaks to many.



Labor Party leader Ehud Barak enjoys a felaful at Shimon Amar's stand in Kiryat Shmona, while on the campaign trail in the North yesterday.

It's something of a catch 22: You may need peace before you can fully concentrate on social problems, but you also may have to deal with the social problems before you can get elected and be in a position to make peace.

He decided to begin his cross-country tour in two towns that do not traditionally support Labor. A few drivers outside Kiryat Shmona leaned out the car windows to tell him he was wasting gas by making the trip; a class of

toddlers in Metulla raised their hands when asked if they support Netanyahu. But, admitted Gedalia, an old-time Likud activist watching the scene, there was no real aversion to Barak. No catcalls, no chants of "Bibi."

There were days, not so long ago, said Gedalia, when a Labor candidate would have been booed out of town. Today, many residents are willing to listen. The majority in Kiryat Shmona will still probably vote Likud, but there is a silent minority which is increasingly frustrated with the dropping tourism, the unemployment, the poverty, the lack of student loans. And Barak wants to talk to them.

## Leadership crisis stalks the center

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN

A crisis has erupted in the new, still unnamed center party, as former chief of General Staff Amnon Lipkin-Shahak and MK Dan Meridor cannot agree on the party's candidate for prime minister.

The party is due to be launched at a press conference on Wednesday, following the Knesset's vote on advancing elections. But it now appears the leading team will only be presented at a later date.

Shahak insists on joining his and Meridor's campaign teams and headquarters only after they decide who the party's candidate for prime minister is.

Meridor, however, wants the union to take place right away and to postpone the leadership issue until much closer to the elections. "We must immediately set up a joint campaign headquarters and a joint fundraising apparatus and formulate a joint platform, to show the public we're united and going together. It's possible and legitimate to put off the decision of who the candidate will be to the end," Meridor said.

Meridor's people said it would be risky to name Shahak the candidate now, for if he drops in the polls later he could bring the whole party down with him.

Shahak's people are accusing Meridor of damaging the cause by putting off the leadership issue, implying that Meridor is hoping he will plunge in the polls as time goes by and Meridor will be named the party's candidate for prime minister.

Roami Milo yesterday sided with Shahak and urged the two men to unite and announce the center party. "Meridor is making a mis-

take. The more time goes by, the deeper the controversies among the potential leaders will get. We must all get together," Milo said.

If Meridor continues to waver, Milo warned, he and Shahak will launch the party together without him.

Shahak and Meridor, who met Friday afternoon, had agreed to unite their campaign staffs and delay the announcement on leadership candidate.

The agreement, however, did not last long as after further consultation with his aides, Shahak changed his mind and decided not to wait any longer.

"It's off," Shahak told Meridor in a telephone call, and Shahak's people issued a statement calling for the immediate union of teams and naming the leader.

Labor sources said Shimon Sheves, one of Shahak's aides and former director-general of the Prime Minister's Office under the late Yitzhak Rabin, had a hand in persuading Shahak not to wait.

Sheves, the sources said, wants Labor MK Haim Ramon to join the list. But Ramon will only join if Shahak is the candidate for prime minister.

Communications Minister Limor Livnat, who had reportedly made up her mind to join Meridor, now intends to remain in the Likud following the dithering in the center party and the bickering over the leadership.

According to one version, Livnat fears the center party may be more of a balloon than reality and does not want to risk her political career by leaving her party for a non-existent one.

Livnat is to meet with Shas leader MK Aryeh Deri today and decide a day or two later whether to stay in the Likud.

## ON THE RECORD

"This is the war of democracy against oligarchy. This is the war of the rabble, which is the majority - Habad people, new immigrants, development towns, settlers, and haredim - against the elites of Rehavia and Ramat Aviv Gimmel." Avigdor Lieberman at a news conference announcing formation of a new immigrants' party.

"Lieberman is a danger to democracy and the rule of law. His speech is one of the most dangerous we've ever heard in Israel, especially since it is addressed to recently arrived immigrants who are new to democracy here." MK Dan Meridor.

"We must choose a suitable candidate who has the best chances of winning. Meridor, concerning the emerging centrist party."

"Peace is what we need - but we need it so we can get on with the real problems in our society." Ehud Barak, while campaigning in the North.

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## NEWS

in brief

## Bezeq sanctions keep phone lines unrepaired

Communications Minister Limor Livnat will meet with Bezeq officials today to discuss labor sanctions that have caused thousands of phone lines around the country to go without repair. The workers are protesting against a paragraph in the economic arrangements bill that would cancel Bezeq's monopoly in domestic telecommunications infrastructure. A union spokeswoman said that the workers are aware of the fact that Bezeq will not be allowed to continue to enjoy a monopoly in local calls over conventional cables, but that when Bezeq was originally formed in 1984 from a department in the Communications Ministry, workers had conceded benefits to get the monopoly. "Now that Bezeq will lose this exclusivity, the workers insist on being compensated," she said. *Judy Siegel*

## Kibbutz fined for dumping sewage

A Jerusalem Magistrate's Court judge yesterday fined Kibbutz Ma'aleh Hahamisha NIS 150,000 for violating water protection and cleanliness enforcement laws, by allowing both domestic sewage and wastewater from the cowshed to flow into nearby wadis without the necessary treatment. Meanwhile, Environment Ministry Director-General Nehama Ronen said plans for an improved garbage dump at Talya, 10 kms south of the Kinneret, will allow the closure of other small dumps in the area and so encourage recycling. The site will be able to receive up to 1,200 tons of waste a day. *Liat Collins*

## Japan to try to revive Syrian-Israeli peace talks

Japanese Foreign Minister Masahiko Komura will visit Syria this week for talks on ways to revive Syrian-Israeli peace talks which broke off some three years ago, officials and diplomats said yesterday. A spokesman for the Japanese Embassy in Damascus said that Komura, who will also visit Israel as part of a regional tour, would hold talks with President Hafez Assad and Foreign Minister Farouk Shara. His visit starts on Friday. "The talks will focus on the latest developments of the Middle East peace process and ways of resuming the Syrian-Israeli peace talks," the spokesman said. *Reuters*

## Trial of German charged with terrorism begins

Stephan Smeyk, a German citizen charged with planning a terror attack, appeared in Tel Aviv District Court yesterday, as the prosecution began presenting its case behind closed doors. Smeyk, 26, was arrested on November 18, 1997, as he arrived at Ben-Gurion Airport. He is accused of plotting with Hizbullah to carry out a bombing in Israel. The plot was never carried out. In an earlier session, Smeyk pleaded not guilty. His lawyer, Ronit Robinson, said that she would tell the court that a confession by Smeyk "was extracted under pressure." Prosecutor Devora Chen said the maximum term for Smeyk's alleged offense is life in prison, but she would not say whether she will request the maximum. *AP*

## Holocaust audit costs anger Swiss banks

Some Swiss cantonal banks, angered by the high costs, have stopped paying for an audit being conducted by an independent commission set up to determine the value of dormant Holocaust-era accounts, a Zurich newspaper reported yesterday. The *Sonnstags Zeitung* said some of the cantonal, or regional state banks, have complained that the cost of the audit by foreign auditing firms had no relationship to the results of their work. The paper also reported that the commission, headed by former US Federal Reserve Board chairman Paul Volcker, had said that the situation involved a "small minority" of banks. However, it said Volcker had assigned an ombudsman to look into the matter. *Reuters*

## Katsover fined for losing Uzi

The IDF Central Command Military Court yesterday fined settler leader Benny Katsover NIS 3,848 and sentenced him to four months' imprisonment - to be replaced by a month's community service - for losing his army-issue Uzi submachine gun. He had left the gun in his car, which was stolen on May 15, 1998. Three months of the prison term were suspended for two years, and the community service is to begin next month after a suitable position is found. The judge called Katsover negligent for leaving the weapon in his car, noting it might be used to harm people. Katsover said the fine was fully justified, but the rest of the sentence was stringent. *Margot Dudkevich*

## Sharon denies Albright snubbed him

By Danna Harman

Officials in Foreign Minister Ariel Sharon's office yesterday denied a report that Secretary of State Madeleine Albright had refused to meet with him when he visits the US this week.

In reaction to the report in *Ha'aretz*, the officials said that the purpose of Sharon's trip is not to meet with US officials.

"Sharon will be making a short trip to New York next week to brief the heads of missions and con-

sulates in North America," a statement from his office said.

It added that while Sharon had not asked for a meeting with Albright, the State Department - which had been informed of the visit - suggested that US special envoy Dennis Ross meet with Sharon.

Ross is expected to meet him when he is in New York, the statement said.

Ross is expected to visit the region next week to try to put the Wye accord back on track.

Sharon's spokesman, Ra'anan Gissin, refused to confirm or deny the report that Albright, upset over Israel's suspension of implementation of the Wye deal, had snubbed a request to discuss ideas for a final-status accord with Sharon.

A senior source in Sharon's office denied there had been any request to meet Albright.

"We did not ask for any special meetings," the source said. "There was no snub."

*Reuters contributed to this report.*

## Knesset to vote on Golan Heights bill today

By NINA GILBERT

After today's vote on early elections, the sponsors of the so-called Golan Heights bill plan to take advantage of a full House to try to pass the first reading of the legislation, which would require the support of 61 MKs and a majority in a referendum before ceding sovereign territory.

The Third Way, whose MKs are sponsoring the bill, said yesterday the party believes it will have a majority today to advance the legislation towards its second and third readings.

The Likud, religious parties, and Moledet are supporting the legislation, while Labor Party and Yisrael Ba'aliya MKs may vote according to their conscience.

A large number of Labor MKs are expected to support the bill, including Labor Party leader Ehud Barak and faction chairman Elie Goldschmidt, a resident of Kibbutz Deganya.

Opposing the legislation are the dovish Labor MKs, including MK Yossi Beilin, who opposes legislation that would limit a government's ability to act on the diplomatic front. Meretz, Hadash, and the Democratic Arab Party also oppose the bill.

Yesterday, Meretz leader Yossi Sarid called on Labor MKs to vote against the bill today, saying it sends a "bad diplomatic message" that the present will remain the future, and, with or without Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, the rejectionist policy will continue.

According to Sarid, it is clear to all that the only chance of getting IDF soldiers out of Lebanon is by renewing peace negotiations with Syria.

If the bill is passed in its first reading, it can be brought up for



Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu meets with Likud supporters from northern border communities yesterday in Jerusalem.

(Brian Bessler)

its second and third readings in the next Knesset on grounds of continuity.

Meanwhile, the State Attorney's Office will consider Netanyahu's request to indict Yediot Aharonot for slander. The paper published an article about evaluating property on the Golan Heights in preparation for paying compensation to citizens should the Golan be evacuated following a peace treaty with Syria. The article claimed that Netanyahu was continuing the policy begun by the Rabin government.

## Election economics?

Despite the lack of a 1999 budget, the cabinet yesterday approved plans worth over NIS 1 billion to beef up the northern border communities.

It decided to enhance the standing of Kiryat Shmona by expanding its municipal boundaries, constructing new neighborhoods, and increasing the size of its population. The cost of implementing the program between 1999-2001 will amount

to NIS 219 million.

The cabinet also approved a development program during the same period for other communities along the northern border, at a cost of NIS 913 million.

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu told Likud supporters from the border communities he views the strengthening of their region as a foremost national responsibility. Opposition leader Ehud Barak, on tour in Kiryat

Shmona yesterday, welcomed the decision and said it is about time the plan - which was created under the previous government - is implemented.

*Item adds:* Meanwhile, police revealed yesterday that jewelry and clothes worth thousands of shekels were looted from two shops in Kiryat Shmona during last week's Katyusha bombardment. *Danna Harman*

## New role for Ground Forces Command

Jerusalem Post Staff

The IDF is about to upgrade the status of the Ground Forces Command into a separate branch comparable to the air force and navy. Chief of General Staff Lt.-Gen. Shaul Mofaz told military reporters on Friday.

Speaking at the conclusion of a three-day seminar on the structure of the IDF toward the 21st century, Mofaz said the restructuring plan would create a more active role for the deputy chief of General Staff. Instead of today's concentration on administration and logistics, the deputy CGS would become

the actual commander of the IDF in time of incidents. The CGS would continue to deal with long-range planning and war-preparedness.

The IDF's mega-divisions would also be restructured under the plan, said Mofaz, with the adoption of the "light forces" doctrine employing swiftly reacting, highly mobile units accepted today in the American and British armed forces.

"We are talking about far-reaching changes, which will be integrated in the IDF work plan in the coming years," Mofaz said. The restructuring plan was refined over

the previous week in a General Staff forum of 15 major generals, which culminated in the three-day workshop. It represents the latest in a series of reorganization plans proposed for the various ground forces beginning in the 1950s, when the first plan for a "land forces headquarters" proposed by then CGS Haim Laskov and Maj.-Gen. Meir Zorea was rejected.

Following the Yom Kippur War, then Maj.-Gen. Shmuel Gorodish was given the task of reexamining the concept, but his proposal for a separate command under Military Intelligence was rejected by then

CGS Mordechai Gur. Similar attempts were made in 1977 and 1979 by then Maj.-Gen. Yisrael Tal under then defense minister Ezer Weizman.

It was not until shortly after the Lebanon War that the development of a unified field command was finally accepted by a defense establishment led by then defense minister Moshe Arens and CGS Moshe Levy. In 1983, the Ground Forces Command was created under then Maj.-Gen. Dan Shomron, soon to become the next CGS, to integrate the training and operations of the various land forces.

## Weizman defends IDF from laxity charges

By BATSHEVA TSUR

President Ezer Weizman yesterday cautioned against making generalizations that the IDF is "falling apart" following last week's mishap in Lebanon.

But the president, who yesterday visited the family of St.-Sgt. Ohad Zach, killed in last week's "friendly fire" mishap, said there is no doubt that the IDF must check "the entire chain of command" involved in the incident.

"Those in charge should have looked into the matter before. It was not something sudden. There was mishap after mishap," Ohad's mother, Naomi, told Weizman. "There were warnings and nothing was done. That's why I'm angry,"

she said. "These are the best boys who are prepared to give their all." She added that Ohad's direct commander was not the only one at fault.

Weizman, who also visited Zach's comrade-in-arms, Guy Nissim, at Sheba Hospital in Tel Hashomer, gave some advice to his mother, Miri.

"Let whoever is in charge of the army take care of the investigation there, and you look after your son," Weizman told her after Miri Nissim said she was angry at the military for what had happened. "It is fashionable now to attack the army," Weizman added.

Miri Nissim said she expects that whoever is responsible for the incident - in which Nissim lost the

sight of one of his eyes and his platoon commander was also wounded - would be put on trial.

"Is this the Golani (Brigade) family?" she asked, saying that for three days no senior officer had been to see her son.

Weizman took the opportunity at Sheba Hospital to visit a new immigrant soldier, Alexei Yermenko, who lost both his legs in Lebanon in November.

Yermenko asked the president to help his parents, who made aliyah after Alexei was wounded, to find permanent housing.

*Margot Dudkevich adds:* Israel Radio reported yesterday that OC Northern Command Maj.-Gen. Gabi Ashkenazi declared that section commander Sec.-Lt. Assaf

Lapid was not entirely to blame for the "friendly fire" incident that led to Zach's death, as well as injuries to soldier Guy Nissim and Lapid.

Ashkenazi said the unit had not been properly prepared before embarking on the mission, and the deputy battalion commander had not been briefed properly and was unaware of the details of the operation.

In addition, the report stated that Lapid had violated regulations by failing to inform his soldiers when he lost his way, and did not verify the target before opening fire, as was necessary in such conditions.

Ashkenazi was reported to have made the statements last Thursday after carrying out an initial investigation into the incident.

## 7 contractors bid for Har Homa

By AMY KLEIN

Seven contractors submitted bids to build the Har Homa project in southwestern Jerusalem yesterday, the deadline, despite the gov-

ernment's announcement it would not grant benefits to buyers.

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Deputy Housing Minister Meir Porush had recently considered a plan which would

have provided a NIS 15,000 grant for Har Homa buyers, as exists in other parts of the country. The plan also would have offered a NIS 60,000 loan, half of which would not have to be paid back.

"The government is not offering grants because there is no need for it," David Bar-Ilan, Netanyahu's communications adviser, said yesterday. Benefits were not offered because of economic considerations, not political ones, he said.

An appraiser who works for contractors told the Associated Press that without subsidies, Har Homa is a money-losing venture.

The 1,850-dunam (462.5 acre) site has stood empty for nearly two years despite Netanyahu's promises to issue a tender for construction. Plans to build a Jewish neighborhood of 6,500 homes there have raised the ire of the international community and Palestinians, who say it impinges on Arab areas.

Har Homa borders the Palestinian-controlled town of Beit Sahur.

The Israel Lands Administration and the Housing Ministry yesterday accepted final bids for the first stage of the project, 1,025 homes. The decision will be announced to contractors this week.

Building usually begins several months after the tenders have been

awarded.

Meretz MK Yossi Sarid said the contractors are making a risky investment. "Elections are coming up, and there is no guarantee that the next government will want to build in Har Homa," he said.

A number of contractors have backed away from the project, whose tender includes a clause that gives the government the option of canceling or postponing it.

"Contractors are afraid to start the project and then have it stopped suddenly," said Haim Falk, director-general of B'emauna, a non-profit-organization affiliated with the National Religious Party, which has signed up over 200 families for the project.

B'emauna is one of six non-profit organizations which have registered families who want to live in Har Homa. Falk said the two contractors he was working with decided not to bid.

David Elisfor, one contractor who submitted a bid yesterday, said, "We took the situation into account, and decided to go for it anyway."

Elisfor said he is confident the project will go through. "It's not as if we begged them to let us build on the land. The government is the one that published the tenders, so I imagine they will not stop it."

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The Israel Airports Authority (IAA) hereby wishes to make the following changes in the Pre-Conditions of this subject matter tender as follows:

Only the complete language of the Pre-Conditions as stated in the revised RFP is binding. The complete text may be obtained by written request, submitted on company letterhead, to the PMF facsimile number stated below.

**Exhibit A of Request for Proposals - Pre-Conditions**

**Clause 3 (Registration with the Contractors' Registrar [Israeli Offerors Only])** should read:  
If the Offeror is an Israeli entity, Offeror shall attach to its Proposal, a certificate issued by the Contractors' Registrar (of the State of Israel) attesting to the registration of the Offeror in the Contractors' Register under the Classification of Group A, Branch 180, Type 3 under the Registration of Contractors for Construction Works Regulations (Classification of Registered Contractors) 1988.

**Clauses 9 iii (Quality and Experience Requirements)** should read:  
Offeror shall have installed and completed a minimum of two (2) runway or taxiway lighting and signage projects, and has installed not less than 70 runway or taxiway light fixtures, within the last seven (7) years.

**Clauses 9.2 iii (Quality and Experience Requirements)** should read:  
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This clarification will also be issued to all Offerors who have purchased the Tender Documents by an addendum.

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## UN questions Angola role after downing of plane

LUANDA, Angola (Reuters) - The UN chief in Angola yesterday questioned the future of its peace efforts there following the shooting down of a UN plane with eight people aboard, the second such incident in a week.

Issa Diallo, head of the UN Observer Mission in Angola, said the increasing conflict in Angola and disintegration of the country's 1994 peace accord placed the UN peace mission in doubt.

"I think that the Security Council and the secretary-general have been thinking about this for some time, and we will come to the point when a decision will be taken. I think it will be very soon," Diallo said in an interview.

The UN has some 1,000 observers in Angola, but only a few are in areas where fighting is currently under way.

Diallo's comments followed the shooting down of a UN-chartered C-130 transport after taking off Saturday from Huambo, the central Angolan city that is the scene of fierce fighting between government troops and rebels from the National

Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

Diallo said other aircraft had been able to fly out of Huambo safely Saturday and it appears the UN is being targeted.

"One should draw the conclusion that it is not normal to continue shooting at the UN planes," he said, adding it is unacceptable that the UN be seen as part of the Angolan conflict by the two warring sides.

"Yesterday they had in Huambo four flights from the government side and nothing happened. And two from the WFP [World Food Program] and nothing happened. The UN plane asked and got authorization, takes off, and gets shot down."

Diallo said it was a routine flight and he did not know exactly what had happened to the South African-owned plane, other than a missile had hit it.

The UN mission in Luanda said it did not know the fate of the four crew and four passengers on board, confirmed as four Angolans, two Filipinos, an American, and a Namibian.

Diallo said the UN was trying to obtain government and UNITA assistance in the search and rescue operations. He said all UN flights in Angola now had been suspended.

The first C-130 to be brought down, on December 26, was also owned by the South African company TransAfrica. It had 14 people aboard. Its wreckage has been spotted by a plane flying at high altitude, but UN demands for access to the crash site have so far been unsuccessful.

The Angolan government has pledged assistance, but the site is believed to be in an area under UNITA control and the rebel movement said it has not yet received a UN request for help.

The downing of the second plane drew an angry reaction from Secretary-General Kofi Annan.

He said in New York Saturday it is high time the Angolan government and UNITA called an "immediate cease-fire which will permit the conduct of search-and-rescue missions, as well as the relocation of United Nations staff to safer areas."



Pakistani policemen examine a crater in Raiwind yesterday after a bomb - apparently intended for Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif - exploded, killing at least three and wounding seven.

## Philippines prepares for execution after 22 years

MANILA (Reuters) - Philippine prison officials announced a red alert and installed coils of barbed wire around a penitentiary in Manila yesterday, the day before they were scheduled to carry out the country's first execution in 22 years.

Barring a last-minute stay by the Supreme Court or clemency from President Joseph Estrada, convicted child rapist Leo Echegaray will be put to death by lethal injection at around 3 p.m. today in the New Bilibid Prison, officials said.

The Supreme Court is to decide this morning on a request for a temporary restraining order on the execution because bills and appeals were pending in Congress to examine the death penalty afresh.

"We are not asking that the

Supreme Court changes its decision," said Theodore Te, Echegaray's lawyer, who has filed for the restraining order. "What we are asking for is to delay [the execution] while Congress is studying what they will do with the law," he told the DZRH radio station in an interview.

Estrada has said he will not grant clemency.

"In view of my sworn duty to protect the people from evil and all criminality, I am upholding the decision of the Supreme Court for the imposition of the death penalty," the president said.

Quoting the 13th century Italian-born philosopher Saint Thomas Aquinas, Estrada said: "Although it be evil in itself to kill a man so long as he preserves his dignity, yet it

may be good to kill a man who has sinned even as it is to kill a beast."

Echegaray, a 38-year-old house painter, was convicted in 1974 of repeatedly raping his 10-year-old step-daughter.

Divorced from his first wife, he married again last week while on death row.

"Even if they execute 10 Leos, it will not stop crime in the Philippines," his new wife Zenaida Javier said.

Pressure to call off the execution also mounted from the powerful church in this Roman Catholic-dominated nation.

Despite the possibility of a temporary reprieve from the Supreme Court, preparations for the execution were in full swing at the prison yesterday.

## Pakistan PM escapes apparent bid on his life

LAHORE, Pakistan (Reuters) - Three people were killed yesterday when a powerful bomb went off on a road along which Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was due to pass later in the day near his home city of Lahore.

A police inspector who was making security arrangements for the prime minister's journey was wounded, police said. They added that the blast occurred beneath a bridge on the road from Lahore.

Hussain, speaking in Islamabad, said the prime minister was at his residence in Lahore's Model Town neighborhood when the bomb

person of the prime minister." Information and Media Development Minister Mushahid Hussain told Reuters.

In another incident yesterday, officials said police found and defused a bomb on a railway track near the Punjab town of Sialkot near the Indian border before a Lahore-bound passenger train was due along it. The bomb at Sialkot was of Indian make, a police official said.

Hussain said authorities had yet not reached any conclusion about the identity or the motives of those behind the bombing. "As of now the investigation is still continu-

ing," he added. Police in Lahore declined to speculate about the motive of the attack or give further details.

Hussain said he spoke to Sharif after the prime minister arrived at Raiwind and found him in "high spirits." Sharif, who arrived in Lahore Saturday and is due to preside over a meeting of leaders of municipal organizations today, came to power for a second time two years ago. He scored a landslide victory in a general election then and has since made his mark as Pakistan's most powerful premier in decades.

ing," he added. Police in Lahore declined to speculate about the motive of the attack or give further details.

## Saddam: Iraq will resist no-fly zones

BAGHDAD (Reuters) - President Saddam Hussein slammed Western-imposed no-fly zones over northern and southern Iraq as illegal and said his people would resist them with "bravery and courage," the Iraqi News Agency said yesterday.

Saddam told a cabinet meeting they were "flagrant and clear-cut violations of international laws, accords, and norms, particularly the United Nations Charter."

Saddam's statement was his first public comment on a series of clashes between Iraqi air defense units and warplanes patrolling the zones, set up by Western forces after the 1991 Gulf War to limit his military power in northern Kurdish and southern Shiite regions.

Iraq has repeatedly challenged the no-fly zones since the end of a four-day campaign of air strikes by US and British forces two

weeks ago. The strikes were launched after UN weapons inspectors, charged with eliminating Iraq's weapons of mass destruction, reported that Baghdad was not cooperating fully with their work.

Saddam described the no-fly zones as "an aggressive operation which violates the will of the Arab people and the Iraqi people, who reject them and are determined to resist them with all bravery and courage."

"Arabs and just people all over the world are asking what these planes are doing flying in the skies of an independent country, and why have they been violating the air space of this country for eight years without a UN resolution permitting this," he said.

Since the end of the air strikes last month Iraq has twice said it

"almost certainly" shot down Western aircraft, and blamed them for opening fire.

Washington and London have both denied losing any planes. Saddam also criticized Arab

nations for delaying until January 24 a proposed summit meeting to discuss the US-British attacks on Iraq, saying the delay aimed at reducing the sense of urgency in tackling the air strikes.

## 'Time' interview: Bin Laden says he instigated terrorist attack

NEW YORK (AP) - Exiled Saudi billionaire Osama bin Laden said in a *Time* magazine interview that he instigated the terrorist bombing of two US embassies in Africa.

The interview seems to be the closest that bin Laden has come to admitting a role in the deadly attacks. He has previously denied any role.

*Time* said the interview was conducted on December 22 at bin Laden's secret encampment in Afghanistan. He was specifically asked if he was responsible for the embassy attacks, and he couched his response in religious references - as he did with most questions.

"If the investigation for jihad against the Jews and the Americans... is considered a crime, then let history be a witness that I am a criminal," bin Laden said in the January 11 issue of *Time*. "Our job is to instigate, and by the grace of God, we did that,

and certain people responded to this instigation."

On December 24, a Pakistani news agency had quoted bin Laden as saying he was "not involved" in the bombing "but I don't regret what happened there."

US officials have indicted bin Laden on charges of masterminding terrorist bomb attacks on American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania on August 7 that killed 224 people, including 12 Americans. He also is suspected in terrorist attacks on US targets in Saudi Arabia and other incidents.

Asked if he knew two men in custody in the US in connection with the bombings, bin Laden replied: "What I do know is that those who risked their lives to earn the pleasure of God are real men. They managed to rid the Islamic nation of disgrace."

Bin Laden said he knew one of the two, Wadiah Hage, but had not seen or heard from him in several

years. He said Hage "has nothing to do with the US allegations," and implied that the second man, Mohammed Rashed Owhali, also is innocent.

Mohammed Sadeek Odeh and Owhali are charged with more than 200 counts of murder. Hage is accused of lying about his relationship with bin Laden's organization.

As for US accusations that he seeks to acquire chemical and nuclear weapons, bin Laden said, "Acquiring weapons for the defense of Muslims is a religious duty... And if I seek to acquire these weapons, I am carrying out a duty."

Bin Laden also criticized US and British air strikes in Iraq last month, saying they were part of a plot to help Israel divide, enslave, and loot the Moslem world. As for Somalia, where the US has accused him of a background role, bin Laden said, "God knows that we have been pleased by the killing of American soldiers."

## Senators: Clinton presidency marred no matter what

By JIM ABRAMS

WASHINGTON (AP) - Bill Clinton isn't likely to be removed from office, but his presidency is permanently blighted by his impeachment on charges he lied about his affair with Monica Lewinsky, senators said yesterday.

"President Clinton is whistling past the graveyard if he thinks that this is going to be forgotten during the course of the next 20 years or for that matter in the next 200 years," said Sen. Slade Gorton, Republican-Washington.

Gorton, appearing with five other

senators on NBC's *Meet the Press*, said he thinks the House articles of impeachment accusing Clinton of perjury and obstruction of justice are sufficient to remove the president from office. But Gorton doesn't believe the two-thirds Senate vote needed to convict Clinton is there.

Instead, he and Sen. Joseph Lieberman, Democrat-Connecticut, have floated a plan under which the Senate, after several days of hearing arguments from both sides in the case, would vote on whether the charges against the president are enough to remove him from office.

With a two-thirds majority unlike-

ly, the Senate could move to end the trial and consider a censure motion against the president.

Gorton and others supporting the expedited procedure stressed that this would not let Clinton off the hook. "Papal indulgence would not help here," said Sen. Joseph Biden, Democrat- Delaware.

Lieberman, one of the first Democrats to criticize Clinton openly over the Lewinsky affair, said the scandal puts a mark on Clinton's otherwise good record. And, Lieberman said, "The impeachment puts that mark indelibly in the history books."

## US Midwest digs out from snowstorm

CHICAGO (Reuters) - Midwesterners awoke to tall snowdrifts and frigid temperatures yesterday, following what forecasters said was the second-heaviest snowstorm in Chicago's history.

The powerful storm that dumped 36 cm. on Chicago swept eastward, carrying rain and ice to the East Coast and nearly paralyzing holiday travel in the region.

For Chicago, the storm ranked second only to a two-day 1967 blizzard that buried the nation's third-largest city under 58 cm. of snow.

Airlines operating in the Midwest struggled to meet busy schedules disrupted by the storm, and plows worked throughout the night to beat back blowing and drifting snow on main roads and highways.

"Things are much improved, but there will be some cancellations and delays," said Dennis Colleton of the Chicago Aviation Department. He said 400 of the Chicago's busiest travelers spent the night on cots and benches at O'Hare International Airport, the US's busiest airport, which managed few flights during the height

of the storm on Saturday. American Airlines and United Airlines said they expected to operate half of their scheduled flights out of O'Hare. Planes and airline crews were out of position, and bad weather to the east further snarled air traffic.

Most major roads had been cleared, although a major north-south highway in Indiana remained closed, and Chicago's Lake Shore Drive had not reopened. Side streets were difficult to negotiate, and many motorists ended up spinning their wheels when they tried to dislodge their cars from snow.

As many as a dozen deaths were blamed on weather-related accidents, including two huge pileups in Wisconsin on Saturday in which at least one motorist died. Two people reportedly died while shoveling snow in central Illinois.

But a Peoria, Illinois, police dispatcher said early yesterday that the storm appeared to be abating. "It's much better today, and people will probably start coming out" of their homes, he said.

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**Sunday, January 10, 1999**  
Session I  
20:00  
Remarks: Prof. Shlomo Avineri, Jerusalem  
Ambassador Moshe Arad, Vice-President, Hebrew University  
Opening Lecture:  
Prof. Jorge de Oliveira e Sousa, Brussels  
*The Evolution and Perspectives of Common Foreign and Security Policy: A Practitioner's View*

**Monday, January 11, 1999**  
Session II  
09:00 - 11:00  
Chair: Prof. Uri Bialer, Jerusalem  
Prof. Dominique Moisi, Paris  
*Europe: An International Actor*  
Dr. Eckhard Lubkemeier, Bonn  
*European Common Foreign and Security Policy: Does It Exist? A German Perspective*  
Commentator: Prof. Shai Feldman, Tel-Aviv

Session III  
11:30 - 13:00  
Chair: Prof. Ruth Lapidot, Jerusalem  
Dr. Samuel F. Wells, Jr., Washington D.C.  
*NATO and CFSP: The Opportunities and Problems of Cooperation*  
Commentator: Prof. Gerald Steinberg, Bar Ilan

Session IV  
15:30-18:15  
Chair: Prof. Shlomo Avineri, Jerusalem  
Dr. Barnett R. Rubin, New York  
*Is Europe Ready for Prevention? Reflections on Kosovo and the Great Lakes Region*  
Dr. Susan Woodward, Washington D.C.  
*CFSP - A Step Backward? Lessons from the Balkans*  
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# Gambling: Hidden disease of the '90s

One out of every 100 Americans has a serious betting problem, and that's without Internet gambling. Yet while it corrodes society, the gambling industry is one of the most powerful forces in business and politics. **Matea Gold and David Ferrell report**

Rex Coile's life is a narrow box, so dark and confining he wonders how he got trapped inside and whether he'll ever get out.

He never goes to the movies, never hears concerts, never lies on a sunny beach, never travels on vacation, and never spends Christmas with his family.

Instead, Rex shares floor space in cheap motels with other compulsive gamblers, comforting himself with delusional dreams of jackpots that will magically wipe away three decades of wreckage.

He has lost his marriage, his home, his Cadillac, his clothes, and his diamond ring. Not least of all, in the card clubs of southern California, he has lost his pride.

Rex no longer feels sorry for himself, not after a 29-year losing streak that has left him scrounging for table scraps to feed his habit. He agonizes over what he has become at 54 — and what he might have been.

Articulate and intellectual, he talks about existential philosophy, especially the writings of Camus and Sartre. He was once an editor at Random House. His mind is so jam-packed with tidbits about movies, television, baseball, and history that card room regulars call him "Rex Trivia," a name he cherishes for the remnant of self-respect it gives him.

In his 50s, his health is failing: emphysema, three lung collapses, a bad aorta, rotting teeth.

His plunge has been so dizzying that at one point he agreed to aid another desperate gambler in a run of bank robberies — nine in all. When the FBI busted him in 1980, he had \$50,000 in cash in a dresser drawer and \$100,000 in travelers' checks in his refrigerator's vegetable crisper.

Rex, who ended up doing a short stint in prison, hasn't seen that kind of money since.

"There's a lot of Rexas around these card rooms," he says in a whisper of resignation and sadness.

AND their numbers are soaring as gambling explodes across America, from the mega-resorts of Las Vegas to the gaming parlors of Indian reservations; from the riverboats along the Mississippi to the corner mini-marts selling lottery tickets.

With nearly every state in the union now sanctioning some form of legalized gambling to raise revenues, evidence is mounting that society is paying a steep price, one that some researchers say must be confronted, if not reversed.

Never before have bettors blown so much money — a whopping \$50.9 billion last year — five times the amount lost in 1980. That's more than the public spent on movies, theme parks, recorded music and sporting events combined.

A substantial share of those gambling losses — an estimated 30 percent to 40 percent — pours from the pockets and purses of chronic losers hooked on the adrenaline rush of risking their money, intoxicated by the fast action of gambling's incandescent world.

Studies place the total number of compulsive gamblers at about 4.4 million, about equal to the nation's ranks of hard-core drug addicts. Another 11 million, known as problem gamblers, teeter on the verge. Since 1990, the number of Gamblers Anonymous groups in the US has doubled from about 600 to more than 1,200.

No longer is habitual gambling an affliction suffered almost solely by men. More women, teenagers, and the elderly are rolling the dice than ever before. The addiction rate among youth is more than double that of adults.

Many gambling addicts, no matter what their age or sex, share a

common beginning: a thrilling and hefty payday that they spend years trying to recapture.

Although pathological gambling was recognized as an impulse control disorder by the American Psychiatric Association in 1980, the problem has been afforded neither the urgency nor the treatment or funding of substance abuse, despite its similarly corrosive impact on society.

COMPULSIVE gambling has been linked to child abuse, domestic violence, embezzlement, bogus insurance claims, bankruptcies, welfare fraud, and a host of other social and criminal ills. The advent of Internet gambling could lure new legions into wagering beyond their means.

"It's the hidden disease of the '90s," says Paul Ashe, president of the National Council on Problem Gambling. "You can't see the card tracks on their arms. You can't smell the dice on their breath."

Clearly, most of the public views gambling as a relatively harmless, if somewhat expensive, recreational activity. The vast majority of people know when to stop, much like someone who can enjoy a single glass of wine over dinner. But even the gambling industry conservatively acknowledges that at least one out of every 100 Americans has a serious betting problem — chasing the elusive exhilaration of a big win and rarely retreating from the staggering losses.

In south Carolina, for example, so many people are spending sleepless nights sinking their savings into the state's 31,000 video poker machines that the governor has dubbed them "the crack cocaine of gambling." Every once in a while, a case is so egregious it makes headlines: A suburban Chicago woman is so desperate for a bankroll to gamble that she allegedly suffocates her 7-week-old daughter 11 days after obtaining a \$200,000 life-insurance policy on the baby.

But far more often, compulsive

gambling distorts lives more subtly, less sensationally, over the course of years.

Essential family needs are compromised — food, clothing, simple affection. Faced with mountainous debts, many gamblers lose their homes. Some steal and swindle to stay afloat another day. Too many end their free fall with a bottle of pills or a handgun.

"If this were a children's toy, it would be pulled off the market immediately," University of Illinois economics professor Earl Grinols says of gambling. "We would not tolerate it."

Grinols and other gambling critics believe that governments, no matter how strapped for cash, should not be creating victims, granting a stamp of approval to gambling that would never be extended to drugs, alcohol or tobacco. Thirty-seven states now run their own lotteries and spend millions on seductive advertisements.

Despite the seedlings of a backlash, the reality is that the gambling industry is one of the most powerful forces in American business and politics, stamping out opposition through high-end marketing, sophisticated spin control and enormous campaign contributions.

In virtually every state where wagering was an issue in the November elections, pro-gambling forces prevailed, even costing two incumbent southern governors their jobs because they opposed legalized betting.

With so much at stake, many scholars, addiction specialists and gambling foes say it is time to examine the social implications of gambling's expansion, to consider not only the estimated \$18 billion generated last year for government, but also the well-being of those who ante up the money.

NO ONE is sure how much crime is committed for gambling funds. But some surveys show that about half of Gamblers Anonymous

members have stolen to bet.

In one survey, 47 percent admitted to some form of insurance fraud, embezzlement or arson.

In three recent studies in Illinois, Wisconsin and Connecticut, 394 Gamblers Anonymous members reported a combined total debt of \$37.4 million, and four had embezzled at least \$1 million each.

SCIENCE has begun to uncover clues to compulsive gambling — genetic predispositions that involve chemical receptors in the brain, the same pleasure pathways implicated in drug and alcohol addiction. But

no amount of knowledge, no amount of enlightenment, makes the illness any less confounding, any less destructive.

What the gamblers cannot understand about themselves is also well beyond the comprehension of family members, who struggle for normality in a world of deceit and madness.

"None of their personal efforts will ever stop a person from their addiction," says Tom Tucker, president of the California Council on Problem Gambling. "And they don't really see any hope because compulsive gambling in general is

such an under-recognized illness."

Many therapists say that as gambling has proliferated, they have seen a rise in domestic violence and child abuse.

In a horrifying case last year, a compulsive gambler in Massachusetts bludgeoned his sleeping wife to death after she had taken control of the family money.

A survey of battered women at a Colorado Springs shelter revealed that 10 percent of women seeking restraining orders reported that gambling contributed to the domestic violence. Although many spouses silently

suffer the physical and emotional trauma, many are salvaging what's left of their lives, striking out on their own.

A study last year by SMR Research Corporation of Hackensack, N.J., cited gambling as one of the biggest contributors to the dramatic increase in personal bankruptcies nationwide, especially in counties where multiple forms of gambling are legal.

The industry disputes such findings, arguing that factors such as relaxed bankruptcy laws and aggressive solicitation of credit-card customers are largely to blame for the rise in financial failures.

The link between gambling and homelessness is usually lost in the glare of other causes of poverty — especially drugs and alcohol, two other habits that some gamblers embrace. But almost one in five people cited gambling as a factor in their homelessness, according to a survey last spring of 1,100 clients at shelters run by the International Union of Gospel Missions. About 40 percent of those surveyed say they still gamble.

About one of every five compulsive gamblers attempts suicide, according to studies. Though comparative numbers are scarce, some counselors suspect that compulsive gamblers try to kill themselves as often — or more — than any other group of addicts.

Compulsive gamblers often see no way to purge their urges when suffocating debts suggest only one answer: a hot streak.

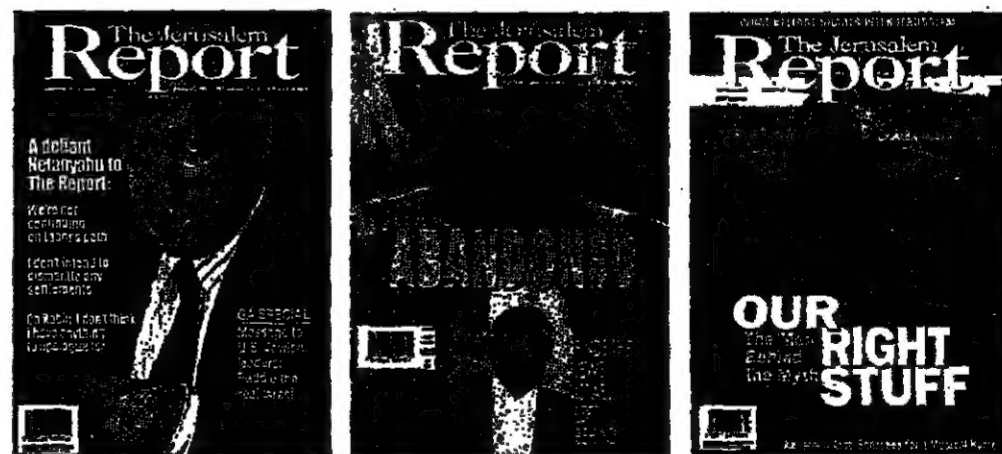
"They have nowhere to turn — they feel cornered," says Dr. Richard J. Rosenthal, a Beverly Hills psychiatrist who founded the California Council on Problem Gambling. "Very often they are motivated by their shame into more and more desperate attempts to avoid being found out."

David Phillips, a University of California, San Diego, sociology professor, studied death records from 1982 to 1988 — before legalized gambling exploded across America — and found that people in Las Vegas, Atlantic City and other gambling meccas showed significantly higher suicide rates than people in non-gambling cities.

Meanwhile the gambling industry continues to insist that those numbers reflect other social forces, including high volumes of visitors and natural statistical fluctuations. (Los Angeles Times)



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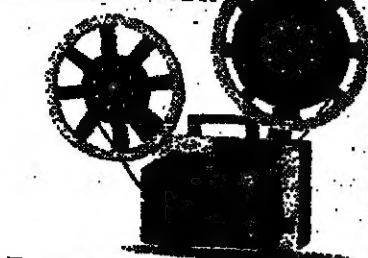
הכרזה מן האוכל



# British chicks do Las Vegas

# Pavarotti pushes away the pasta

## Movie Review



By Adina Hoffman

## GIRLS' NIGHT

Directed by Nick Hurran.  
Screenplay by Kay Mellor.  
English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles.  
Not recommended for children.  
With Brenda Blethyn, Julie Walters,  
Kris Kristofferson, George Costigan.

A maudlin British melodrama about the close friendship between two middle-aged sisters-in-law, *Girls' Night* would be worth dismissing out of hand if it didn't star Brenda Blethyn and Julie Walters.

Never mind for a minute the manipulative, strength-through-terminal-illness-styled script or director Nick Hurran's crude daytime soap-opera techniques: it makes great sense to cast these two actresses side by side. Their similarities (of class and generation) and differences (of personality and performance style) dovetail perfectly. It's as though they've been waiting their whole lives for the chance to work together.

With her wispy little voice and tight, worried eyes, Blethyn plays Dawn, a slightly nervous mother of two, content in her marriage to the brother of her best friend. Cocky, back-talking Jackie (Walters), for her part, feels trapped in a terrible marriage. She has a younger lover on the side and complains at work in a loud, joking way about her husband's temper. Dawn and Jackie assemble telephone panels together at a local factory and chat with the other women throughout their shift. On Friday evenings, the whole assembly line gets together at a bingo hall for a high-spirited game.

A gabby female energy propels the early parts of the movie, which seems poised to evolve into a small, middle-brow



Julie Walters gives her best buddy Brenda Blethyn a last grand fling in 'Girls' Night.'

Northern English feel-good film of the endearing *Brassed Off* or *Full Monty* variety. But the plot soon thickens (coagulates is more like it) when Dawn wins the

grand bingo jackpot, and decides much to her husband's chagrin to split it with Jackie. She then has a mysterious seizure at work, is rushed to the hospital and diag-

nosed with an inoperable brain tumor. Though Dawn decides to conceal her illness from her family and forgo therapy, she can't fool

her tough best friend who marches right into the doctor's office and demands to know what's happening to her buddy. When Jackie realizes that the end is near she decides to take matters into her own hands and whisks Dawn off on the girls' night to end all girls' nights — a fantasy trip to Las Vegas.

Hurran's direction is shamelessly unsubtle, while Kay Mellor's script feels both mawkish and scattered, with far too many forced twists and distracting lurches, as well as a bogus psychological scheme, on loan from other goopy women's films like *Terms of Endearment* and *Marvin's Room*. According to this bathetic set-up, the good, selfless character must suffer slowly and die, while the irresponsible, selfish character looks on, cries, and becomes a better person in the process. The later, Nevada sections of the movie seem especially confused, losing steam as they do on an unnecessary subplot involving a rugged cowboy character, played by Kris Kristofferson. This cool American dude is so precariously linked to the rest of the story, one can't help but wonder if the part wasn't added just so that Kristofferson could be in the film to help its producers raise money.

Again, though, Blethyn and Walters give performances that are quite moving and lively. Both are, of course, playing directly to type. Blethyn's shyly anxious role takes shape as a more stable, less needy version of her character in Mike Leigh's *Secrets and Lies*, while Walters continues to strut and ham it up as she's done since *Educating Rita*. Blethyn's interior style is the more nuanced, to be sure, but Walters's natural tendency to mug and declaim also works well here: her grandstanding seems an essential part of Jackie's difficult persona, a defense. While Hurran keeps steering his performers in the dangerous direction of caricature, each woman embodies her role in such a total, personal way that it becomes hard to see where the actress stops and her character begins.

As a result, scenes that might just sound hokey on paper come alive on the screen. If we get a bit leary, when death inevitably strikes, it's thanks to the feelings we've developed for these two, as individuals, and not to the narrative sludge all around them.

By MARY CAMPBELL

Opera superstar Luciano Pavarotti, who has tipped the scales at 300-plus pounds (130-plus kilograms) has a suggestion for anyone who's resolved to lose weight in 1999. "There's an exercise which must be done during lunch and dinner," he says. "You put your hands flat on the table and push yourself back." Pavarotti, who has slimmed down in recent months, has a simple approach. "You have to use your willpower and have to be determined," the 63-year-old tenor says. "It's psychological. A person of my size has some hunger, maybe from the war. I am a child of World War II."

He might need some willpower and determination to stay away from the 15 restaurants at the Mandalay Bay Resort and Casino in Las Vegas, where he's scheduled to sing on April 10. Pavarotti will christen the hotel's 12,000-seat events center. He doesn't know which of six or seven concert programs he'll perform there, as he waits to hear whether he'll be sharing the concert with a soprano.

Pavarotti has been busy. In recent months, he performed at a concert celebrating the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights at the United Nations. He also performed at a gala honoring the 30th anniversary of his debut at the Metropolitan Opera.

His annual charity concert for children was held in his hometown of Modena, Italy, this past summer. The concert, which benefited children in Liberia, was taped and shown on PBS.

He denies rumors that he is going to retire from opera and singing. Although he canceled three appearances in the Met's *Tosca* earlier this season, he's promised to sing the Puccini opera in March.

Pavarotti, Placido Domingo and Jose Carreras — known for their joint performances as the Three Tenors — are scheduled to perform in Tokyo on Jan. 9 and in Pretoria, South Africa, on April 18.

DURING A recent trip to Manhattan, Pavarotti discussed

dieting, singing and performing.

Q: How much weight have you lost?

A: In the last six months, 9 kilograms.

What was your method?

Instead of a little dish of pasta and other little dishes, I begin with an enormous plate of pasta — knowing I'm going to eat one-fifth. I'm going slowly to eat. I'm happy to see this kind of enormity in front of me. You're not being frustrated, which is the worst thing. You say to yourself, 'Do you think it is enough? I would like to have more.' You stop.

How do you respond to critics who say your voice is a shadow of what it once was?

I don't respond. What should I say? I think the voice is very good. You see, when you reach 60, if you fell on the street, it is because you are old. When you are 30, if you fell, it's because you were looking at the sky. The more one person is well-known, let's say, the more everybody is happy to see you fall down. In the last (November) opera we did in New York, *The New York Times* said, 'If a new tenor came out like that, we would all say he is going to be fantastic.' My voice has qualities it did not have in the past. I have defects it did not have in the past. I know myself when performances are not good. You are not a machine.

Are you worried about "desert throat" in Las Vegas?

If it is dry, they will put 300 machines to make humidity.

Would you speak about performing at your benefit concerts?

Of all the beautiful things that God gave me with my voice, with the power to make this profession even very long — it is already 38 years I am around — he gave me the greatest prize in being able to do something for people that need. No critic, no audience, gratifies me more than being able to do something for the War Child organization. I hope to sing to the last for that cause. Last year, we built a music center in Bosnia; this year, in a Liberian village. Next year we are going to make the thing for Guatemala. We choose places where there is a need. (AP)

# Lubovitch choreographs in Yiddish for Bat Dor

By MICHAEL ALLENSTADT

When the Bat Dor Dance Company presents the world premiere of Lar Lubovitch's *Yiddish Songs of Love and Wonder* Thursday evening (8:30) at the Tel Aviv Performing Arts Center, it will be one of the most exciting dance events in the world.

The piece is the first that Lubovitch has created for a dance company other than his own since he choreographed *Othello* for American Ballet Theater two years ago. But it is not Lubovitch's first time with Bat Dor. Close to 30 years ago, he came to Israel to create *Whirligigs* for the newly formed modern dance company. This is his first time back.

"I came every time I was invited," he says and takes the opportunity to elaborate on the state of modern dance today, which he says "is not in very good shape." "Dance seems to repeat itself," he continues. "The essence of modern dance is to search for the new which has been lost. Dance has become very common and no one seems willing to take the risk anymore."

The reason for this in the US is "because this is what the funding agencies want. They want to approve what they fund. Very few give you money to do just what you want, and once they begin to dictate the actual outlook of the work, it becomes very problematic."

How does Lubovitch fight this trend?

"By not working. I do only what I want to do. I didn't want to try and work in any other way than what I believe in."

Lubovitch, who looks much younger than his 56 years, has a very quiet manner. He is very diplomatic when asked to compare his company with Bat Dor — "no comparison is called for, a dancer is a dancer" — or when asked if he would bring his company to Israel.

"We tour much less these days," he says, explaining that after 30 years of touring I want to do only special things, like our 30th anniversary gala and other special projects. "After so many years in the business, he is definitely not interested any more in the day-to-day routine of a dance company."

Comparing today's Bat Dor with the company which he was three



Choreographer Lar Lubovitch first came here 30 years ago. Now he's back.

decades ago, he is diplomatic once again. "It was a young company then, a founding. Now the dancers are obviously more technically polished."

Yet working with dancers who are not used to him is rather strange for Lubovitch. "It's like communicating in sign language at the beginning. But then little by little, you learn." As a result, Lubovitch could not include the input of Bat Dor dancers in his new work — a custom when he creates new works for his own dancers.

Meanwhile, Lubovitch has branched out into Broadway — where he works as a director or choreographer — and into ice skating, both Olympic and professional.

"Ice dancing is very much similar to regular dancing, from the technique point of view, but time is used rather differently on the ice. One single step of ice dancing can take much longer, and you

have to take that into consideration," he observes.

The new work for Bat Dor, *Yiddish Songs of Love and Wonder*, has six movements. The first is a dance for the cleansing of the spirit, *Tastlich*, followed by *Honikzef* ("Honey Juice") and *Di Sapozhkelech* ("My Boots"). Then comes *Di Zun Vet Anantergeyn* ("The Sun Will Set"), a hassidic chant of ecstasy, followed by the final benediction that asks: "Why did the soul, oh tell me this, tumble from heaven to the great abyss?"

Each section is based on a hassidic/klezmer Yiddish song. "I chose songs that helped me make a story, it's an abstract story but it gives some framework to the piece," Lubovitch says, while refraining from giving more details about the work itself.

"I'm saying it in dance, if I do it in words I'm trivializing it. To say it in words is to make it less than what it actually is," he adds.

# The McCourt magic

When he had an opportunity to head to Limerick with his brother Frank, he realized he had the makings of a movie.

"I thought it would be nice for the family. Send them a couple of copies for Christmas. ... Then Frank's book came out." Conor McCourt says in an interview from Ireland, where he was screening his second movie at the Cork Film Festival.

Home Box Office bought *The McCourts of Limerick* and his second film, *The McCourts of New York*, which follows the brothers' immigration to the United States. The cable television company is now working with Conor, 33, on his third documentary about four police officers in four different cities around the world.

Part of the McCourts' success

may lie in the rising popularity of Irish music, movies and dance.

"This hasn't come out of the blue," says Ray O'Hanlon, author of *The New Irish Americans* and senior editor of the New York-based *Irish Echo* newspaper. "You hear now everything Irish is hot."

Later this year, *Angela's Ashes* the movie will arrive in theaters and *The McCourts of New York* will be shown on cable. Frank and Malachy are currently working on the next installments of their respective memoirs, and a new production of *A Couple of Blaguards* is being mounted in New York.

If Angela were still alive, she would be horrified that her family's private pain has become so phenomenally public.

"She'd emigrate back to Ireland," Frank says. (AP)

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## Policy, not polls

American author E. B. White, writing just after Harry Truman's surprise victory in the 1948 elections, commented that "People are unpredictable by nature, and although you can take the nation's pulse, you can't be sure that the nation hasn't just run up a flight of stairs." The vagaries of polling are, of course, no news to Shimon Peres, who according to most polls would be prime minister today. Accuracy aside, there is a problem with a party that claims to represent "new politics" relying upon polls for its most momentous decision.

Retired IDF chief of General Staff Amnon Lipkin-Shahak is expected to declare candidacy for prime minister Wednesday, leaving unresolved who will lead the new centrist party that is coalescing, he or MK Dan Meridor. Shahak is reportedly pressing for an almost immediate decision, while Meridor prefers to wait until closer to the election. Neither, however, seems to quibble with the principle of letting polls determine who will lead the ticket.

Though the reliance on polls is considered a form of political pragmatism, it could, ironically, spell the beginning of the new party's downfall. The strength and the weakness of a new party is its lack of identity. On the one hand, the new party's dissociation from the ideological exhaustion and drift of the major parties is expected to be a major asset. On the other, even troubled, shrinking parties can rely on some residue of loyalty and sense of belonging earned over many years in existence.

A new party, by contrast, does not have the luxury of being vague about what it stands for; if it does not stand for something, it cannot exist. The old parties, faced with crisis, can always fall back on a tribal appeal to their voters to "come home." A new party, beyond relying upon the attraction of its candidates, must create a home from scratch. What is the "home" that the new party is trying to create? Though Shahak and Meridor may well be able to see eye to eye on most issues, the choice of who leads the party, and the method of that choice, will say much about the nature of the home being created.

Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu, for example, has been roundly criticized for succumbing to the politician's tendency to try to please everyone, and of relying heavily upon snap polls as his guide to decision-making. Labor Party leader Ehud Barak has made under similar attack for being guided less by a sharp

internal compass than by what polls dictate he must do to get elected.

The first choice of the new party, therefore, is whether to follow or to break this pattern. A party that chooses its leader by sticking its finger in the wind is saying to the voters that it wants to follow, not to lead.

This is particularly true when the choice is not between two seasoned, established politicians, but between a known and an unknown. Current polls indicate that either Meridor or Shahak would beat Netanyahu by a larger margin than Barak in a runoff election. But it is reasonable to suggest that Meridor's popularity is based upon what he has done, while Shahak's must be based substantially upon what he had not yet done - become a politician.

It remains to be seen whether Shahak can maintain his high ratings once forced to take stands on issues in the contentious crucible of a political campaign. Already, the distance between Shahak and Meridor in current polls is within the margin of error. Though slightly more now say they would vote for Shahak than for Meridor, the preference might well switch if the question were who is most qualified to be prime minister, rather than whom would you vote for.

Meridor's idea of waiting some months before making the choice between them is reasonable as far it goes, but misses the point. Meridor and Shahak, if they are going to found a new party together, should decide what it is they stand for and let that decide who joins them, rather than the reverse.

Should the new "centrist" party include everyone from Limor Livnat (who voted against the Hebron and Wye agreements) to Haim Ramon (considered to be on the dovish wing of the Labor Party)? Should a party preaching religious-secular reconciliation include Ronni Milo, who has positioned himself as the secular champion in the battle against religious coercion?

The greatest lesson of the polls to date is not regarding who should lead the centrist party, but that the public is not yet willing to promote the non-existent party into the second round of voting for prime minister. If the new party is to succeed in reaching the runoff election, it must offer something that the existing parties do not. A party that leads with personalities and polling, rather than a concrete policy agenda, will rightly be dismissed as more of the same politics that it aims to abolish.

## Mishaps and mistrust

YOSEF GOELL

We are the brink of an extremely dangerous spiral of demoralization in the army as a result of our failure in recent years to insulate it from the poisonous atmosphere of our public discourse.

Our internal hatreds are behind the fact that the debate on whether we should stay in Lebanon, withdraw in stages, or pull out in one fell swoop is being carried out in full view and hearing of our soldiers, who risk their lives day and night to defend our northern border.

After last week's "friendly fire" incident, we descended to a new stage of self-destructiveness, as parents of different soldiers were ferociously battling each other and army officers in public, trying to lay blame for the mishap.

I am not questioning the human right of bereaved parents, wives,

bereaved parents that the numbing pain and sorrow of the bereaved then was in no way less than theirs is today. The lives of many of the bereaved families were wrecked forever.

I am also sure that in their grief, many of the bereaved families of 1948 sought to lash out at the political and military leaders who had sent their sons into battle, or who, due to their own lack of military experience, had botched those battles.

But those heartfelt outcries were never reported.

I realize that "censorship" is a bad word. But "self-censorship," the wisdom not to blurt out everything that enters one's mind, because such mindless blabbing is sure to be injurious to the values and interests that we ourselves hold dear, is the hallmark of responsible people in any civilized society.

**The self-abnegation necessary for the media to exercise responsible self-censorship can only be won by an army high command that deserves such trust**

children and friends to fling the most extreme charges in any and every direction in their hour of grief.

I am taking exception to my colleagues in the media - and especially editors and TV and radio news producers, who should know better - who insist on reporting every nuance of these outcries because it makes for dramatic copy, sells papers and wins higher ratings.

Losing a son in battle - or more senselessly, due to operational mistakes by his comrades and commanders - is a horrible thing. I should bite my tongue, but that does not change the fact that this horrible has been going on - and in much higher numbers - for the five decades in which we have had to fight to defend ourselves.

In the 1948 War of Independence our casualties were over 6,000, about one percent of the total population. Since I fought in that war and some of my comrades were among those killed, I can assure today's

I EXPECT that the people who control our media should be counted in that category, although I have had many reasons of late to doubt it.

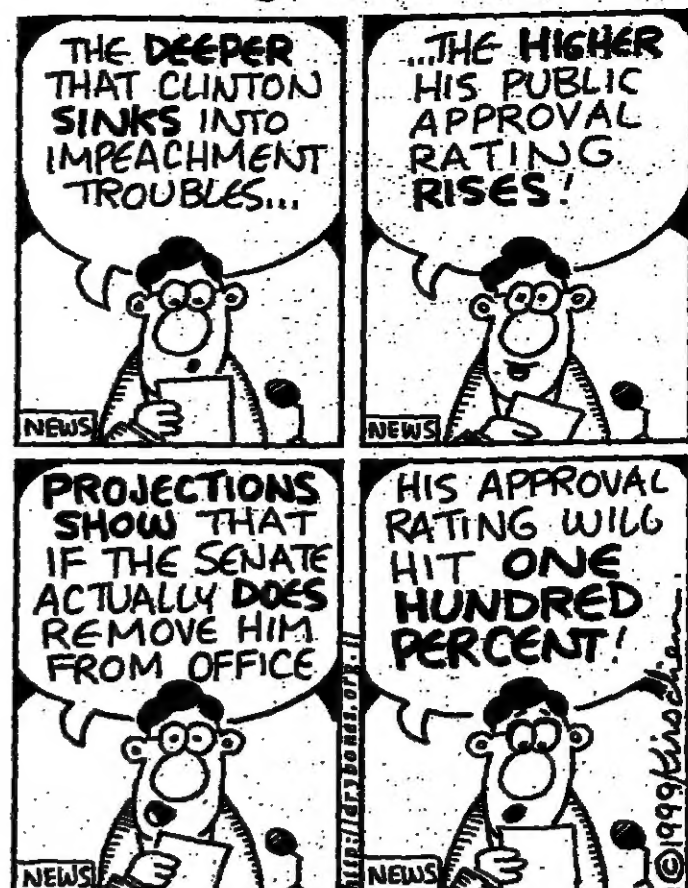
But in truth, it's not only the media that are at fault, but the army, too. The self-abnegation necessary for the media to exercise responsible self-censorship with regard to the army can only be won by an army high command that deserves such trust.

The present self-destructive spiral began with the traumatic Yom Kippur War, in which generals started denigrating each other in public and the IDF spokesmen started lying systematically.

The media overreacted then and has continued to do so, even more since the divisive Lebanon War, which was based on deceit.

Whatever happened to the old practice that no IDF officers were permitted to be interviewed, except for the chief of General Staff and his deputy, rather than major-generals

## Dry Bones



and brigadier-generals, as Galilee region commander Brig.-Gen. Eli Eitam was last week?

But as bad as last week's tragedy itself were the reports that inquiries into earlier mishaps in the security zone did not bring about changes in IDF behavior that could have prevented future mishaps.

There is good reason to believe that the problem here is that the army, like any bureaucratic organization with its own internal interests to protect, is incapable of policing itself.

Over time, it has become too much of an "old boys club," in which senior officers have a human tendency to protect the careers of their immediate juniors, due to their illustrious past records as fighting men, but despite more recent evidence of their failures as commanders.

The main correctives here should be civilian ministers of defense, and

members of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee who are not members of that back-scratching club. They should be capable of striking a healthy balance between defending the army against public furors and mercilessly demanding the pruning of its command of senior officers who have turned out in mid-career.

Let me add here, as a supporter of compromises with and separation from the Palestinians, that many of us have come to permit ourselves such irresponsible attacks on the army because we have bought the lie that if we only make this or that concession to the Palestinians and the Syrians, peace is around the corner.

If that were true, then it really does not pay to continue taking the risks entailed in our continued military confrontation with the Arabs.

Alas, that "peace" is simply not around the corner.

## Terror boom possible in '99

YONAH ALEXANDER

Since the 1960s our modern society has suffered from the global disease of terrorism, which grows in scope and brutality with every passing year.

In 1970, a total of some 300 terrorist attacks, both domestic and international, were recorded worldwide. In 1998, the count reached over 4,500 incidents. The number of fatalities and persons wounded have increased steadily and the value of the resulting property damage reached billions of dollars.

An analysis of global trends in 1998 concludes that the globalization and brutalization of sporadic and relentless subnational and government-sponsored terrorism in the name of higher principles was the most intensive in three decades.

The 1997 figures - 221 dead and 690 wounded in international terrorist incidents - was surpassed on a single day, on August 7, 1998, when the nearly simultaneous car bombs at the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania killed 260 people and wounded more than 5,000 others.

Similarly last year, a powerful bomb in Oragh, Northern Ireland, killed and wounded 250 people in the single worst attack of Ulster's sectarian violence. In Israel (including the territories and the security zone in Lebanon) the civilians and soldiers killed and wounded reached over 500.

Scores of other countries around the world, such as Algeria, Colombia, India, Spain, Sri Lanka, and Turkey have also continued to

be plagued by deadly terrorist attacks.

This bloody record underscores once again that terrorism is a permanent fixture of international life, epitomizing modern society's state of anarchy which is increasingly becoming a universal nightmare.

Although it is difficult to predict whether 1999 will duplicate or sur-

**Vulnerable targets created by technological advances are likely to become more attractive to terrorists**

pass the brutal level of 1998, terrorism as "warfare on the cheap" deserves much greater attention from the international community. After all, the 1990s marked an escalation of spectacular incidents of terrorism.

One dramatic terrorist attack was the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center by Middle East terrorists (killing six people and injuring more than 1000) and the aborted plot to destroy other New York landmarks. In 1995, American perpetrators with ties to paramilitary militias, destroyed a federal building in Oklahoma City, killing 168 and wounding an additional 500 people. The Oklahoma City bombing was the worst terrorist incident ever to take place in the US.

The most critical areas which require particular consideration are the threats of biological, chemical, nuclear, and cyber (Internet) terrorism. These forms of "super-terrorism" are considered by experts as plausible, if not inevitable. The use of sarin nerve gas in the 1995 attack on the Tokyo subway by the Aum Shinrikyo group was wake-up call.

TWO factors suggest the likely development of more destructive forms of terrorism in 1999 and well into the 21st century.

First, ironically, bringing terrorism under substantial control in the foreseeable future through national and international legislation, increased security and enforcement measures as well as preemptive and punitive military strikes, might, in fact, hasten the advent of more daring types of terrorism. Various vulnerable targets created by technological advances are likely to become more attractive to terrorists.

A second distinct consideration which might encourage escalated terrorism is the fact that ideological and political violence is usually, a means to an end; it progresses in pro-

portion to the aims envisioned. If the goals are higher, then the level of terrorism must necessarily be higher.

It is possible, therefore, that certain conditions could provide terrorists with an incentive to escalate their attacks dramatically. One could easily imagine religious fanatics believing that extreme violence might be "sanctioned" by God or "justified" by other rationalizations.

Osama bin Laden, the world's most notorious terrorist, who allegedly masterminded the bombings of the two embassies in Africa, is attempting, according to intelligence reports, to obtain enriched uranium for the purpose of developing nuclear weapons.

Hovering in the wings is the threat of "unconventional terror" by state sponsors like Iraq, Iran, Libya, Sudan, and Syria.

In sum, the vulnerability of modern society and its infrastructure, coupled with the opportunities for the utilization of sophisticated high-leverage conventional and mass-destruction weaponry, requires nations, both alone and in concert, to develop credible responses and capabilities to minimize future threats.

Indeed, enhanced terrorism in 1999 may be the price for the vision of a "better" and more secure "new world order."

The writer is professor and director of the Inter-University Center for Terrorism Studies, and editor of Terrorism: An Electronic Journal & Knowledge Base.

## In the eye of the beholder?

CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER

Europe's division."

Rubbish. The wall was the supreme symbol of Soviet cruelty in turning half a continent into a giant prison and forcing half a century of division on a continent that longed to be whole and free, and became so only as the Soviet Union expired.

In fact, Cold War often goes beyond mere moral equivalence to cheap anti-Americanism.

Take episode 18, for example. "Backyard" is an unending catalog of American perfidy in Latin America. It concludes thus: "1990, Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega asks the Nicaraguan people to vote him president... Violeta Chamorro, Ortega's opponent, narrowly won a surprise victory. Washington spent nearly \$10 million backing her campaign."

Two groups. American on one side, Soviet on the other, coldly letting this young man die.

This is a perfect metaphor for the series' view of the Cold War: Those who erected the wall, then murdered the man as he sought freedom in the West share culpability with the Americans who dared not rescue him for fear of sparking an incident, perhaps a war.

Then, this summary, a perfect capsule of the moral symmetry practiced in Isaacs' show: "The wall was the supreme symbol of the Cold War's cruelty and

These "revolutionary dreams," however, belonged not to the Nicaraguan people but to the European and American Left who imagined - as Cold War portrays - the anti-Sandinista Contras as Yankee stooges. In fact, they represented an authentic, indigenous peasant resistance to a communist dictatorship that had hijacked the anti-Somoza revolution.

This is why the Left was shocked by the victory of the Contras and their allies in the election. It refuted all the fashionable nonsense said about the Contras, nonsense Cold War repeats as if it were 1986.

THE viewer is led to believe that Washington bought the election. But the Sandinistas were in complete control of government media, had total access to the national treasury for their campaign, and harassed the opposition with what one historian called "brownshirt tactics." Washington's help barely leveled the playing field.

Isaacs' revisionism extends not just to history but to his own show. He claims that in the egregious Episode 6 ("Reds") on the Red Scare, "we" contrast McCarthyism, a spasm... with a system that sent millions to their

deaths in the gulag. Contrast? Spasm? Has he not seen his own show? It clearly presents the Red Scare here and the gulag there as two sides of the same coin: Cold War paranoia.

It contains, for example, but one mention of children being urged to inform on the thought crimes of their own parents. And which side of the Cold War does the show so indict? The United States!

This is, of course, a grotesque turning of history on its head. It was the Soviet Union that made national heroes of children who informed on their parents. Knowledgeable adults will wince at these falsities. But CNN is offering this series as a teaching tool for schools. How are young people to know?

How are they to know, for example, that when a Soviet official says on camera that the Soviets invaded Afghanistan because they feared that Afghanistan's communist dictator would "turn to the Americans for help and they would put their own troops in," that this is risible KGB disinformation - Jimmy Carter invading Afghanistan! - turned into post-Cold War apologetics? They will never know it watching this thoroughly tendentious production.

(Washington Post Writers Group)

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### DAINGEROUS CAMPAIGN

Sir, - The recent election campaign unleashed by Ehud Barak reminds me of the now notorious and failed election campaign of Rina Bar-Tal who would have liked to be the mayor of Ra'anana.

It's no wonder that Ehud Barak never censured his fellow Laborite for her blatant tactics of incitement against the non-existent haredim of Ra'anana. Barak himself uses the same tactics of fear and incitement against the "extremists" whoever they are, and wherever they may be.

Is there anyone who really knows what he's referring to? Without identifying them by name or organization, "they" can be anyone or anything, as long as they don't "tow the party" line.

What Barak has done is very dangerous. He's apparently trying to frighten his would-be constituents into voting for him because he's not "extreme." Apparently he hasn't been too successful. The proof is the number of Labor Party members who no longer want to be asso-

ciated with Ehud Barak and the Labor Party and have fled to the less "extreme" centrist parties.

Barak beware. Bar-Tal, whom he failed to condemn and seemingly condoned, received only 19% of the mayoral vote in Ra'anana. Barak should have censured the "would-be mayor," instead of ignoring the issue and paying three imported advisors a lot of money for the same bad advice.

JUDY LEV

Ra'anana.

### SPOCK'S LULLABIES

Sir, - In Ruth Mason's parenting column "A lullaby for lullabies" (December 23), she quotes Hanna Jaffe on the subject of lullabies. Jaffe claims that Dr. Spock dictated hours of feeding and sleeping, and introduced regimentation, thus doing away with spontaneous behavior on the part of mothers. Surprisingly, other "experts" criti-

cize Spock for preaching undue permissiveness.

Nonsense! I wonder if either Jaffe or the other experts ever actually read Spock's *Baby and Child Care*, or are they relying on hearsay?

Spock's message was to raise your child with a learned heart, and to behave according to your own personality and instincts, but

intelligently. I sang lullabies (and other songs) in three languages, as I held my child in my arms. It was spontaneous, loving behavior. And Spock guided me through the problems and technicalities.

HASSIA BEN-HARARI

Tel Aviv.

### FALSE MESSIAHS

Sir, - In your issue of December 25 you talk about the "Jerusalem Syndrome" and the numbers of so-called messiahs that are liable to arrive in the year 2000.

Might I suggest that the syndrome is already with us. At present it is in the guise of prospective candidates for the position of prime minister.

JOSEPH LUNZER

Jerusalem.

any wonder the US and the PA blame us too?

Now we read in "Israel set to lose millions in European R&D funding" (December 24) that Israel will lose out because it hasn't met its Wye commitments. No mention is made of PA non-compliance as the reason for postponement of the next withdrawal.

What happened to the concept of a loyal opposition?

ZVI STONE

Jerusalem.

## FROM OUR ARCHIVES

65 years ago: On January 4, 1934, *The Palestine Post* reported on the congestion and unfavorable conditions at the Jaffa port. There was a shortage of porters and while passengers and immigrants from arriving ships were able to come ashore, their goods were not unloaded.

50 years ago: On January 4,

1949, *The Palestine Post* reported that the US had warned Israel that it faced the loss of American recognition if it invaded the neighboring Arab states. This move followed the British pressure calling upon the US to use its influence with "the Jews" to stay within their own territory and reported that Britain might go to war with Israel.

25 years ago: On January 4, 1974, *The Jerusalem Post* reported that many Israeli soldiers were wounded by Egyptian mortar and artillery fire east of the Suez Canal. A stubborn fire had been raging through several offshore oil wells at Abu Rodeis.

Alexander Zvielli



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# The New York Times

## Weekly Review

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### Dissonance

## In China, So Many Liberties, So Little Freedom

By ERIK ECKHOLM

**L**AST week, while governments and the press abroad dwelled on the harsh sentences meted out to Chinese dissidents, exuberant middle-class couples crowded into the newly opened Ikea warehouse store here, snapping up stylish, modestly priced furniture and housewares.

As the Chinese and American Governments sparred over human rights, moviegoers rushed to see the season's hit, "Be There or Be Square," a romantic comedy filmed in Los Angeles that affectionately caricatures the United States and the Chinese who go there to seek their fortunes.

Among ordinary Chinese people, it would seem, the current crackdown on democracy activists has registered only faintly, if at all. Ask even well-educated professionals what they think about people like Xu Wenli or Wang Youcai, two of the four democracy advocates who received prison terms of a decade or more, and they are apt to call them brave but stupid men who sacrificed themselves with no chance of success. Many Chinese are bewildered by all the attention outsiders give these cases, asserting, as one lawyer did, that "these things just have no effect on our daily lives now."

It's not that people are entirely unaware of the virtues of free speech and politics. But they know that while there is little room for dissent these days, they can pursue exciting new options in their own lives. Many of them just assume that the society will eventually have to liberalize. The biggest threat to their personal freedoms, many say, would be a souring of Chinese-American relations that might strengthen conservative forces here.

Though audiences are streaming to see "Be There or Be Square" for a good laugh rather than for a sociology lesson, the movie's popularity and themes are revealing. The film, which is directed by Feng Xiaogang, deftly plays on Chinese stereotypes



Continued on Page 12 A Beijing mall inviting shoppers although many shops are empty is a metaphor for China, where the economy delivers personal choice while the Government closes off political choice.

**Caspian Logic**  
Kazakhstan, richer in oil than democracy, resists calls for reform.

By Steve LeVine

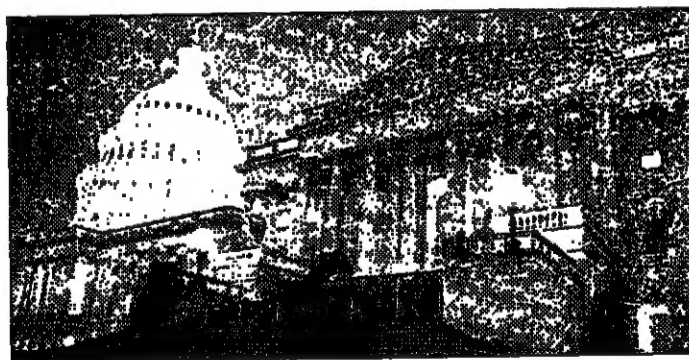
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**Distraction**  
Wall Street to Washington: So What! (At least for now.)

By David E. Sanger

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**Abandoned 'Homelands'**  
South Africa confronts a relic of apartheid's bizarre scheme.

By Suzanne Daley

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### War Without Casualties

## Not Taking Losses Is One Thing. Winning Is Another.

By SERGE SCHMEMMANN

**"I** WANT you to remember that no bastard ever won a war by dying for his country," Gen. George S. Patton Jr. roared in May 1944 to soldiers preparing to invade Europe. "He won it by making the other poor dumb bastard die for his country."

Fifty-four years later, that admonition, immortalized by the movie "Patton," has evolved into a dogma that Old Blood and Guts would scarcely recognize, one in which avoiding casualties — "force protection," in military speak — has been elevated to a central objective of a military mission, and spilling little or no American blood has become a primary indicator of success.

So it was that the four-day blitz bombing of Iraq last month was proclaimed a success even before the full extent of damage was known, because no American got hurt. "To do this without any casualties in the environment our forces faced was truly remarkable," Gen. Anthony C. Zinni, commander of the operation, declared.

Of course it was a relief that no American was killed or wounded. And nobody would disagree that the cruise missiles and other "stand-off weapons" fired so accurately from a great distance came a long way toward fulfilling the hopes of honorable soldiers throughout history to achieve military objectives with a minimum of carnage.

But putting so high a premium on bloodless combat and so much faith in high technology has also raised some troubling questions. One is whether the electronic

razzle-dazzle creates the expectation, some would say illusion, in the American public that the new weapons can accomplish every military mission, and therefore that the loss of any G.I.'s in a future operation is tantamount to failure. And does that not in turn encourage commanders to tailor the goals of a mission to insure minimal casualties?

Another question is whether America's apparent reluctance to shed blood leads its enemies to conclude that the way to defeat the United States is to achieve gruesome and televisable casualties.

Some have already concluded just that, including Iraq's Saddam Hussein, who made clear in a conversation with the American ambassador on the eve of the 1991 Gulf war that he saw America's sensitivity to casualties as an exploitable weakness. "Yours," he told the American ambassador then, "is a society which cannot accept 10,000 dead in one battle."

Looking to technology to reduce carnage is not new. The introduction of gunpowder 400 years ago, for example, raised expectations that war would become less gruesome now that men would not have to hack or bludgeon each other to death. Neither is America's reluctance to send its boys to die in distant wars new or surprising, given its geographic insulation from potential foes.

Yet even if Americans went reluctantly into World War II, it was still an axiom that waging war meant being prepared to die. When Patton exhorted his men to do in the other guy, he also told them, "The real man never lets fear of death overpower his hon-



Continued on Page 11 Red traces of ineffectual anti-aircraft fire illuminated the Baghdad skyline on the fourth night of American raids on Iraq last month.



## The Nation

## When, and If, Impeachment Meets Wall Street

By DAVID E. SANGER

AS the Senate returns to Washington this week to begin an impeachment trial of the President, the airwaves and Op-Ed pages are filled with prophecies of doom. A year of scandal and partisanship on a scale unseen in a generation has, it is said, left the capital adrift and the President paralyzed no matter how the Senators vote. The White House rarely misses a chance to exploit that worry, warning darkly about how a prolonged trial, much less the removal of a President, could unravel this Age of Prosperity.

Two hundred and fifty miles north, on Wall Street, life looks different. The Dow's party goes on. It ended the year well above 9,000, after a plunge in September and October that now seems like nothing worse than a terrifying bungee-jump that punctuated a delightful vacation. No one is sure exactly what brought it back — maybe Alan Greenspan's interest rate cuts, maybe new money for the International Monetary Fund, maybe the hope that 18 months of global chaos is morphing into something more manageable.

Sure, there are still anxieties about profits, deflation, slow growth and the gnawing sense that whatever afflicted Asia and Russia is simply in remission.

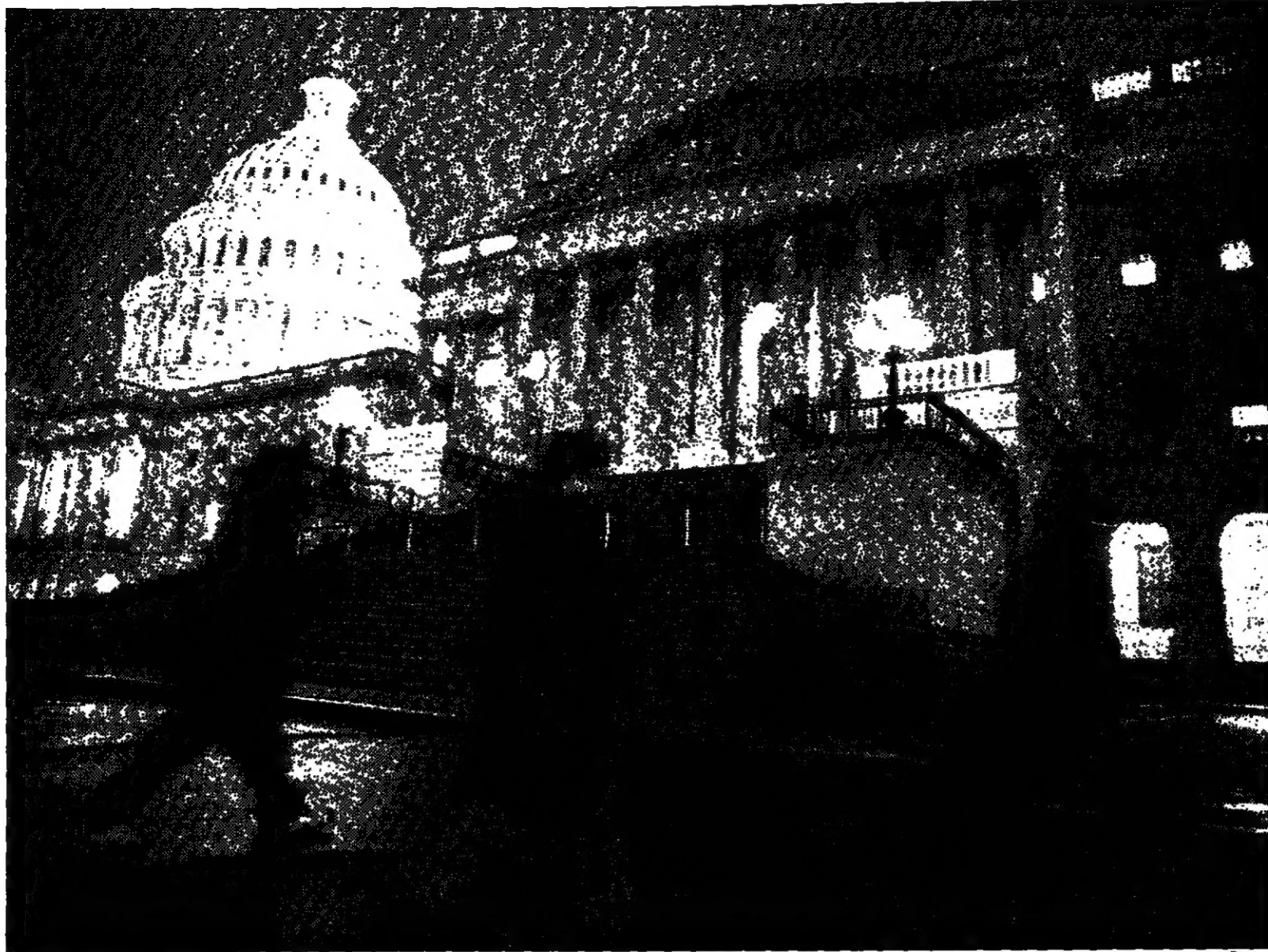
But impeachment? No problem. Somewhere in the intersection of those views — Washington's certainty that what's happening here matters to the Government's ability to manage the nation and its economy, and the markets' view that the political wars and moral arguments here are irrelevant — lies a dynamic that seems bound to define 1999.

It is a well-proven maxim that in good times, countries can thrive even when their governments are paralyzed. Japan is perhaps the premiere example: In the 1980's, Japanese industrialists boasted that the weakness of the Japanese state was one secret of their success.

But the experience of the past few years in Japan, Russia, Asia and Latin America suggests that once things go awry, a distracted or weak government can make things worse. That may explain why Treasury Secretary Robert E. Rubin, a man who has lived in both worlds, went out of his way last week to portray Mr. Clinton as a President in full, remarkably undistracted by the prospect of an imminent trial.

"I've seen him a lot lately, and when he comes into our meetings he is fully there," Mr. Rubin said. "He is remarkably focused on what is happening."

Whether the President is engaged or depressed, consumed with his fate or determined to turn his mind to other things, the question remains: Are there unforeseen dangers emanating from the ugliness of the past



As the case against the President moves to the Senate for trial, talk of impeachment dominates Washington. On Wall Street, it seems irrelevant.

year? It is hard to tell, especially at a moment when it is unclear whether Mr. Clinton's trial in the Senate will be long, or as many suggested last week, could move quickly to the question of censure. But the issue hardly goes away when the trial ends. Will the legacy of partisanship end any chance of working out a deal on Social Security or the range of other issues on the national agenda? Or, as many moderates in both parties argue, will there be a drive to get something done, anything that would enable incumbents to go to the voters with something more to show than a vote on Bill Clinton's behavior?

Conventional wisdom in Washington, which has been wrong at virtually every turn in this melodrama, sides with the gridlock scenarios. On Wall Street, at least for now, gridlock sounds fine. More than a few top executives say that a Congress consumed with impeachment is a Congress too distracted to raise taxes or think up new ways to spend

money.

But that is mostly loose cocktail party talk, the kind of bravado born of good times. Government action never seems more useless than when interest rates and unemployment are hovering near 30-year lows, when budgets are in balance, when crime is down and Internet stocks are trading at levels that seem to defy logic.

JUST remember September and October, a time of terror in the markets, when it seemed as if Asia's troubles and Russia's default had arrived on America's doorstep.

The almost-crash of '98 prompted muted talk of a global recession and fears that the near-collapse of Long-Term Capital Management, a huge hedge fund, presaged big trouble. The big question was: What was Washington going to do, and how quickly was it going to do it?

It turned out that Washington acted pretty fast. Mr. Greenspan, the

chairman of the Federal Reserve, came through with three interest-rate cuts. Mr. Clinton gave speech after speech urging other nations to focus on growth and forget about inflation fears, and they cut rates, too. A scared Congress approved new financing for the International Monetary Fund. The Fed coordinated a private sector bailout of Long-Term Capital Management. Things settled down, defying Washington's expectations.

Those were largely actions that the Federal Reserve and the executive branch could execute by themselves. What no one yet knows is whether Washington's immersion in the impeachment, the culture wars and the positioning for supremacy at the polls could distract it from more politically difficult steps needed to sustain America's boom.

History, an uncertain guide, suggests that the risk is real.

Andrew Johnson's impeachment in 1868 led to an era of weak govern-

ment and, the next year, a Black Friday in which a major Wall Street firm sought to corner the market for all gold in the country outside the Treasury. International trade, which was settled in gold at the time, briefly came to a halt. The next 20 years were marked by forgettable Presidents and a succession of panics and scandals.

But as David Donald, the Harvard historian of the Civil War and Reconstruction eras, said in an interview recently, what happened in America in the 1860's and 1870's "didn't radiate out into the world, except to confirm the European view that America is a barbarous and uncouth nation." Nor did the economic events beyond America's borders require swift or decisive action in Washington. "This time," he said, "it could be different."

In fact, there is plenty of evidence around the world in recent years that political distraction in one country can affect the wealth of other na-

tions. Japan is the most conspicuous example.

The Japanese in the late 1980's not only thought they were on top of the world, they thought the chaos in their own Government barely mattered. Bribery scandals and the political power struggles that in 1993 resulted in the ouster of the Liberal Democrats after 35 years of increasingly corrupt rule, all seemed like a side show to an economic miracle.

In retrospect, it is clear that Japan was like a car that had run out of gas, but had so much momentum that the passengers didn't notice until the scenery stopped moving.

POLITICIANS didn't notice even then; they raised taxes, making a bad situation worse. They ignored a trillion dollars in bad debts, hoping a market upturn would make it all go away. It didn't.

The story was similar in Thailand, South Korea and especially Russia, where American officials were warning President Boris N. Yeltsin two years ago that a free-market economy did not mean that the Government had no power to regulate.

"One thing is clear from the financial crises," said Stanley Fischer, the No. 2 official at the International Monetary Fund. "Weak governments have a terrible time putting together sensible decisions, and rallying market confidence."

But he quickly noted that the United States appears to be different, because the independence of the Federal Reserve and market confidence in the competence of the Treasury mean that "the system seems to work even when it might superficially appear to be immobilized. It is relevant to Russia and to the Asians and certainly to Japan." The United States, Mr. Fischer said, is different. "It seems to work even when it would appear immobilized."

How well the United States responds to any imminent economic shocks amid impeachment and its aftermath depends, of course, on how markets, consumers and world economies weather the next few months. If the Internet-stock bubble is pricked, if the bailout of Brazil goes bad, if Russia dissolves or China slows, if another hedge fund crashes, politics and prosperity are bound to cross paths.

Michael Beschloss, the Presidential historian, wonders whether President Nixon might have responded differently to the energy crisis if Watergate had not erupted at the same moment.

"We now know how much Nixon was distracted — that he was spending 70 to 80 percent of his time on Watergate," Mr. Beschloss said. "If you need to convince Congress and the public that the moment has come to make a sacrifice, that's when credibility suddenly becomes important."

## Test-Tube Babies: Private Public Schools

By ANEMONA HARTOCCOLIS

AS New York prepares to become the 34th state to operate charter schools, the model of the future may be in Chicago. Last week, a Chicago priest proposed closing down a Catholic parochial school and reopening it as a charter school, financed by taxpayers. Religious instruction could be available before and after regular classes, he said.

The Chicago plan came just days after an unusual coalition of black and Hispanic ministers and wealthy Wall Street businessmen proposed similar arrangements under a law passed last month allowing 100 charter schools to be set up in New York State.

The first charter school advocates had something else in mind when they sat around a conference table in a lakeside lodge near Brainerd, Minn., in 1988 and dreamed up the idea of public schools freed from the bureaucracy of public schools. Like many parents, educators and policy-makers grappling with ways to improve education, especially in poor neighborhoods, their agendas were more personal than political or religious.

"A lot of us were deeply frustrated," said Joe Nathan, who now heads the Center for School Change at the University of Minnesota's Humphrey Institute. Mr. Nathan, a former public school teacher, recalled sitting with Albert Shanker, the president of the American Federation of Teachers, Seymour Fiegel, a former deputy superintendent of public schools in East Harlem in New York City, lawmakers and P.T.A. and community leaders. Several of them had started small, innovative alternative public schools that thrived by breaking rules but foundered when the local school district demanded conformity.

Ray Budde, a retired teacher and administrator, had coined the term charter in a 1988 Government-financed report, "Education by Charter," to capture the notion of teachers and districts creating innovative

programs. The Minnesota group took his idea one step further to charter schools.

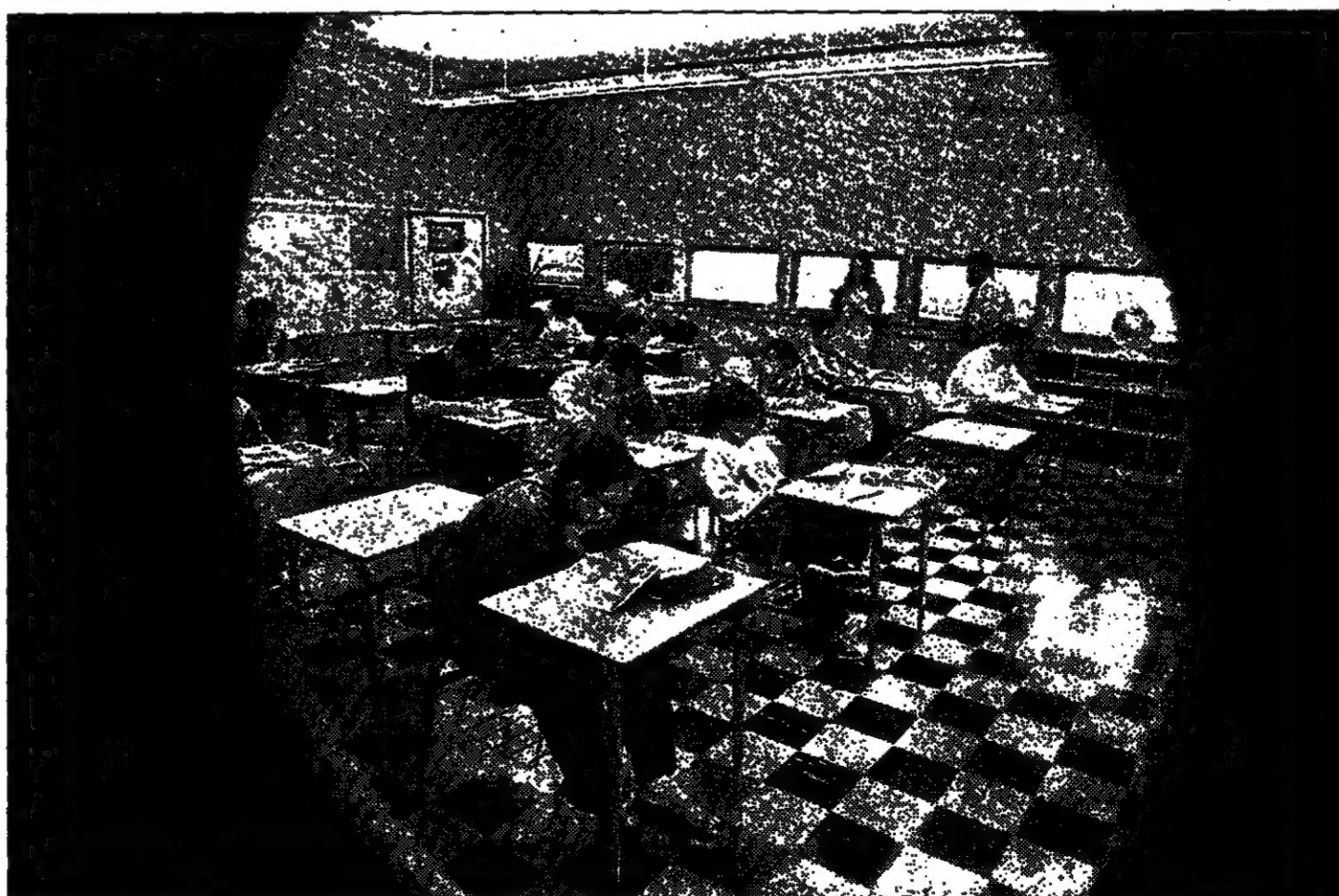
"We liked the term because it talked about mutual responsibilities," Mr. Nathan said. The charter school would receive public money and be independent, but in return it would have to demonstrate that schoolchildren were learning at least as well as they were elsewhere in the system. Otherwise, its charter would be revoked and the school shut down.

In 1991 Minnesota became the first state to adopt charter school legislation, which was written by Ember Reichgott Junge, a Democratic state senator who had sat with Mr. Nathan and others three years earlier. In 1992, the first charter school opened. In less than a decade, the movement has spread to 1,128 schools across the country, enrolling about 250,000 children, according to the Center for Education Reform, an advocacy organization in Washington. About 3 percent of all charters granted have been revoked, center officials said.

SOME of these schools are little more than conventional public schools; others are radically different, with special missions and innovative, even quirky, approaches, like biofeedback to help learning disabled children.

Charter schools receive operating money — the equivalent of tuition — from the public school system. But that doesn't cover construction, renovation or in many cases equipment, and unlike public school systems, charter schools rarely have the ability to issue bonds. To help pay for buildings, desks and computers, charter schools have teamed with philanthropists, local businesses and institutions like the Henry Ford Museum in Dearborn, Mich., and the Y.M.C.A. in Boston.

The need for institutional support has also given rise to a third model — charter schools managed by profit-making companies like the Edison Project, run by the former media entrepreneur Chris Whittle, or the Advantage Schools Company. Mr.



A classroom at the Keystone Education Center in Greenville, Pa., the state's first charter school.

Whittle estimates that profit-making companies run fewer than 10 percent of charter schools in the country. Executives of both companies say they have yet to run enough schools to make an overall profit.

While charter schools obviously are a long way from taking over public education in America, their proponents say their influence has been disproportionate to their numbers.

Worried about losing talented teachers to charter schools, local school superintendents in cities like Boston, Rochester, Minn., and Flagstaff, Ariz., have permitted innovation that they blocked earlier. Mr. Nathan said.

"I think what you absolutely get out of it," Mr. Whittle said, "and I've seen this in city after city, is that competition does raise all boats, period."

Whether clergy join parents and others in the charter-school movement remains to be seen. The Rev. Michael Pfeiffer's proposal to turn the St. Sabina School in Chicago into a charter school has encouragement from the public schools chief, Paul Vallas.

In New York, legislators have warned that groups that want to start charter schools must meet a series of tests designed to prove they are not trying to receive tax dollars by converting an existing private or parochial school. But ministers like the Rev.

Floyd Flake, a former six-term Congressman who is pastor of the Allen African Methodist Episcopal Church in Queens, say they can create secular schools that meet the test of the law.

New York City's Roman Catholic Archdiocese has expressed little interest in charter schools. But it shares the same goals and speaks the same language as a political action committee that spent more than \$100,000, much of it raised by Wall Street businessmen, to prod lawmakers to vote for New York's charter law. The committee was called School Choice Now. The Catholic Church is still pressing its plan for vouchers, which it calls School Choice.



# The World

## Smart Bombs, Dumb Sanctions

By STEPHEN KINZER

**F**ROM the terrace of his home on the outskirts of Baghdad, a carpet dealer named Ziad al-Kadhimi watched the mid-December bombing while sipping a fruit drink.

"It broke some windows in our house, but we saw it more or less as a show," Mr. al-Kadhimi said. "Bombing is nothing. Maybe it hits a few military buildings, but it doesn't really affect ordinary people. The sanctions hurt a hundred times more."

In much of the outside world, the American-led bombing campaign against Iraq that has been launched periodically since the end of the Persian Gulf war in 1991 are viewed as devastating though perhaps necessary assaults. Many Westerners assume that when this country is not being bombed, it enjoys relative tranquillity.

Iraqis assert just the opposite. They say that bombings are increasingly precise and all but harmless to civilians, while economic sanctions devastate their entire society.

The United Nations imposed sanctions on Iraq eight years ago as part of an effort to force President Saddam Hussein to curb his weapons development program, compensate Kuwait for his 1990 invasion of their country, and loosen his despotic rule.

As in some other places where sanctions have been imposed, they do not appear to have had much of the desired political effect. Some diplomats say they are steadily weakening Mr. Hussein by showing senior officials and clan leaders that Iraq faces only hardship as long as he is in power.

Others are dubious. What seems clear, however, is that the

sanctions have plunged this, once-prosperous country into poverty, and in the process created deepening anti-Western and especially anti-American sentiment.

The Clinton Administration, which is the principal backer of sanctions, has vowed to use its veto in the United Nations Security Council to prevent them from being lifted. It has not, however, ruled out supporting expansion of a United Nations program under which Iraq is allowed to sell limited amounts of oil and use part of the income to buy food and medicine.

American officials fear that lifting sanctions would allow the Iraqi Government to import an array of products it would use to rebuild its arsenal. They point to Iraq's invasion of Iran in 1980 and of Kuwait in 1990 as evidence that Mr. Hussein's regime is incurably aggressive and untrustworthy.

Officials in Washington pride themselves on the pains they have taken to assure that American bombs hit only military targets in Iraq, and to keep civilian casualties to an absolute minimum. But at the same time, they assert that the sanctions, which probably kill more civilians each month than bombs have killed since 1991, are a regrettable necessity.

It is not surprising, therefore, that many people here and elsewhere are increasingly cynical about American claims that the United States has no desire to hurt ordinary Iraqis. Because of tight censorship, Iraqis know nothing about President Hussein's purchases of luxury items for his palaces over the last few years. They are acutely aware, however, of their daily hardships, and unhesitatingly blame them on the United States and President Clinton.

Whether the human cost of sanctions is worth what they may accomplish in curbing

or changing the Iraqi regime is being hotly debated at the United Nations and in many world capitals. Russia, France and China, together with several Arab countries, have called for new approaches that could lead to lifting or relaxation of the sanctions.

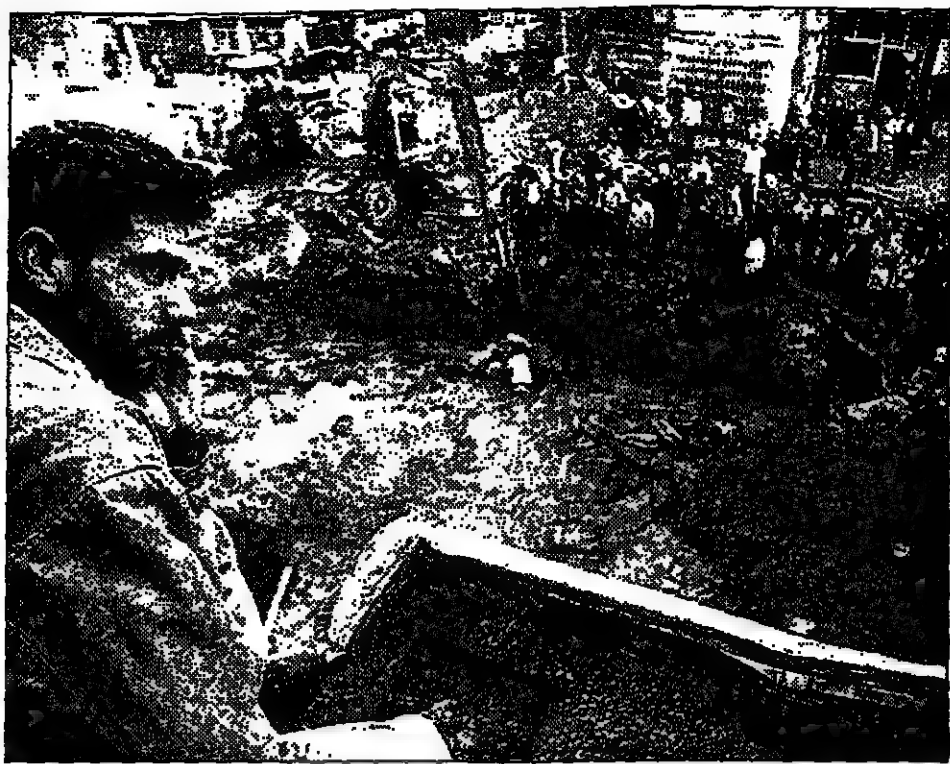
United Nations humanitarian workers here are among the most outspoken critics. Their last chief, Denis J. Halliday, resigned his post in protest three months ago and said sanctions "are starving to death 6,000 Iraqi infants every month, ignoring the human rights of ordinary Iraqis and turning a whole generation against the West."

**I**N his Baghdad office last week, Farid Zarif, deputy director of the United Nations humanitarian aid program here, held up a pencil as an example of items that may not be imported under sanctions.

"We are told that pencils are forbidden because carbon could be extracted from them that might be used to coat airplanes and make them invisible to radar," Mr. Zarif said. "I am not a military expert, but I find it very disturbing that because of this objection, we cannot give pencils to Iraqi schoolchildren."

The United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Annan, told the Security Council in March that despite the oil-for-food program, which was launched in 1996, about one-fourth of Iraqi children are now malnourished. The program does not provide Iraqis with protein- and vitamin-rich foods such as milk, fruit, vegetables, eggs or meat.

A United Nations report issued in April concluded that the sanctions "have had a devastating effect on the majority of the Iraqi people." According to the report, 40,000 more children and 50,000 more adults now die each year in Iraqi hospitals than



Bomb damage in Baghdad adds to a deepening poverty brought about by sanctions.

died before the sanctions were imposed. Rates of polio, diphtheria, tuberculosis, malaria and viral hepatitis were said to have sharply increased.

Aid workers like Michel Nahhal, a Lebanese national who has been living in Baghdad for seven years as a representative of the Middle East Council of Churches, say they see United Nations statistics vividly translated into daily life.

"Sanctions are the severest thing that can happen to a country," Mr. Nahhal said. "Here in Iraq, the industrial sector is at a standstill. Agriculture is collapsing because no fertilizers can be imported and there is no electricity to power irrigation pumps. The biggest employer was the oil sector, and that has all but disappeared. Health conditions are terrible because there are no pumps to flush the sewage pipes and not

enough trucks to pick up garbage. You see children playing in sewage with no shoes and no shirts."

"People are trying to survive, trying to make ends meet. It's very hard on them. They do whatever they can. There is a lot of prostitution. Boys are prostituting themselves at a very young age. A few bombs landing on military bases every couple of years is nothing compared to this."

For ordinary Iraqis, sanctions have meant an almost surreal descent into a poverty they believe they do not deserve.

"First I sold my television, then my furniture, then my car, then my house," said Mohammed Abdul Razaq, a retired office worker. "Everything that I built up over a lifetime is gone. A bomb is something you hear far away, or at worst, it kills you in a second. Sanctions kill you every day."

### Caspian Logic

## Democracy? Sure, Sure. Now Buy Our Oil.



By STEVE LEVINE

**K**AZAKHSTAN, on the steppes between Moscow and Mongolia, was only recently a forbidden southern Soviet hinterland, a synonym for obscurity. But it is rich in oil and natural gas, recently independent, and in a region that forms a corridor separating Russia to the north from Iran to the south.

In these geographic facts, the Clinton Administration has seen an irresistible opportunity — to help American firms share in the riches, to prevent Russia from expanding dangerously back south once it is back on its feet, and to help contain Iran.

So it is that the White House has declared the Caspian Sea a top strategic priority. So it is that it is pouring enormous effort into helping the surrounding nations with the most energy — Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan — build a pipeline to the Mediterranean that would get their oil and gas to market without going through Russia. And so it is that America has become interested in the niceties of democracy in places as obscure as these.

But there is a problem. Call it a perception gap. Even as it helps funnel in billions of dollars in American contracts for energy development, the Administration has wanted to transform the societies that will receive it by turning them into democratic and economically transparent meritocracies.

But the Caspian leaders have a different idea. As they see it, they have been willing to sign almost any agreement promising reform, and they have handed over their crown jewels — their oil fields. So they want to know why Washington makes a fuss when they cheat in their elections, rule as autocrats and appoint relatives (who, after all, are among their most trusted intimates) to senior government posts.

Just now, this difference of view is causing tension between the Clinton Administration and this republic of 16 million people.

Kazakhstan's President, Nursultan Nazarbayev, who is viewed abroad as the region's most reasonable leader, has ruled since 1989. Next Sunday, he is up for re-election to a new seven-year term.

In Washington's view, Mr. Nazarbayev would probably win a fair race. Few expected one, however, and the Administration took umbrage when the fix seemed more flagrant than necessary. First, Mr. Nazarbayev's Supreme Court disqualified a former Prime Minister, Akhshat Kazhegeldin, as an opponent.

Kazakhstan is richer in oil and gas than democracy. Above, a worker at a joint-venture refinery; below, President Nursultan Nazarbayev with metal workers.



Perhaps more galling, it did so just a day after Vice President Al Gore phoned Mr. Nazarbayev asking that Mr. Kazhegeldin be permitted to run.

Then, on Dec. 23, Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott summoned Kazakhstan's ranking diplomat in Washington to protest the beating of a local employee of the American Embassy in Almaty who had represented the embassy in meetings with opposition and human rights figures. On Dec. 22, three men attacked him, leaving him with a cracked rib and cuts near both eyes. A State Department spokesman, Lee McClelleny, said the circumstances suggested "a politically motivated attack aimed at intimidating the embassy."

**I**N the background is a disagreement over Mr. Nazarbayev's right to rule and Mr. Kazhegeldin's right to compete. Kazakh officials seem to have a Soviet-style regard of their leader — elections or no, they assume he will govern until he chooses to step down or dies. As for Mr. Kazhegeldin, Mr. Nazarbayev and his subordinates openly despise him, and are trying to remove him from the political scene by leveling corruption charges — a slippery topic in a nation where, diplomats say, a third to a half of more than \$1 billion in privatization bonuses from foreign companies to the Government in the last two years have disappeared.

So how does this square with the promises of reform?

"The local governments have learned to talk the talk about human rights, freedom of the press and democracy. But since they are cynical, it is not surprising they believe we don't really mean it," said Adam Smith Albion, an expert on the region with the Institute of Current World Affairs, a policy study group based in Hanover, N.H. "The United States is happy to deal with plenty of autocratic-led states that have hydrocarbons, and surely this has not gone unnoticed by the Central Asian leaders."

Recently, the Kazakh Government has acted on the perception gap. In a full-page ad in American newspapers, including *The New York Times* on Dec. 18, it said it wanted "to celebrate our thriving nascent democracy as a leader in political and market reforms, human rights and peaceful policies in Central Asia."

Paul Bergoe, who teaches about the Caspian region at Oxford University, thinks the gap can be bridged. "But it is going to take much longer than people think," he said. "From the West, starry-eyed idealists came pouring into the Caucasus and Central Asia thinking they would persuade the leaders to introduce pluralist democracy and market reforms. On the other side, the countries thought these companies would come in with all their investments and, before you say Jack Robinson, they would have a modern economy. From both sides it has proved very wrong."

## War Without Casualties

Continued from Page 9

or, his duty to his country, and his innate manhood."

What has made bloodless war so much more tempting for generals and politicians since then is the power that television has had in bringing carnage home to the general public, and the development of ever more sophisticated and accurate long-distance weapons.

In the Vietnam war, the public was exposed for the first time to the realities of the battlefield, and movies like "Saving Private Ryan" have followed by portraying aspects of earlier wars that censors ruthlessly concealed in Patton's time.

It was the televised horrors that seemed responsible for transforming initial support for the Vietnam war into fierce public opposition, and instilled a deep wariness of body bags in the current generation of leaders. "The phenomenon of warfare being broadcast in relatively unadulterated form into people's lives, and the need to build political support to sustain military operations, have caused political and military leaders to become more and more concerned about casualties," said Michael F. Peters, a retired Army colonel and now senior vice president of the Council on Foreign Relations. The sensitivity has been reinforced by incidents like the failed mission to save American hostages in Iran, the killing of 241 American servicemen in 1983 in Beirut in a terrorist bombing, or the images of the charred bodies of American Rangers killed in Somalia.

"So when military commanders launched Operation Desert Storm in 1991, their idea was to hit hard and with minimum casualties," said Bernard E. Trainor, a retired Marine general. "That was also the major factor in the decision to end the war." Not only were the commanders wary of losing their men, Mr. Trainor added, but for the first time in history, they also tried to minimize casualties to the foe, out of reluctance to have the United States appear needlessly vicious.

**B**Y these criteria, Operation Desert Storm was an indisputable success. Only 299 American servicemen died, out of about a half million deployed. Less than half of these, 148, were battle deaths.

That achievement, in turn, led to calls for an increased emphasis on "stand-off weapons" and "force protection" in military planning, and thence to a debate that still rages within the military between advocates of the new, high-tech approach to warfare and those who believe that trying to make war bloodless was not really effective, and potentially dangerous.

Earl H. Tilford Jr. of the Army War College is among those who argue that the effectiveness and credibility of an army, and of a superpower, still ultimately depend on its willingness to send soldiers into mortal combat. "This new American way of war is being sold by the high-tech crowd as a nearly bloodless kind of thing," he said in an interview. "But this is a misinterpretation of what happened in the Gulf." There, he said, America faced an enemy massed in the open desert with little air cover, and thus easy to spot and hit from a distance. Yet even there, he said, it took troops on the ground to finally chase the Iraqis out of Kuwait.

Precision, he said, is "not the answer to all things." Though it can "degrade" Iraq's capability, it apparently cannot eliminate the threat of its weapons of mass destruction — and it has notably failed to dislodge Mr. Hussein, a goal now embraced by President Clinton.

Mr. Tilford is convinced, moreover, that the American public is more willing to accept casualties than political and military leaders believe, if people can be persuaded that the sacrifice is worthwhile.

If so, the key is to find the balance between maintaining the credibility of American arms and the constraints American history and democracy impose.

"A superpower that doesn't exert its power will lose that power over time," said Robert Ebel, the director of national security programs at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. "But the problem is that we cannot be seen as a ruthless superpower. So we've got to continuously use our super powers, but without turning the world against us."

That's fine in theory, military historians would argue, but when it comes to using a cudgel to make the bad guys fall in line, history is clear: There's no antiseptic or bloodless way to do it.

In the final analysis, said Mr. Trainor, "if you want to radically change the behavior of your opponent, it takes boots on the ground to do it."



# The World

## Old Scars on the New South Africa

By SUZANNE DALEY

**T**ODAY'S maps don't show they ever existed. The gates and customs posts that supposedly protected their borders have all but disappeared.

But if you are driving in South Africa and find yourself gazing at barren stretches of eroded land, clusters of huts without electricity or absurdly opulent administration buildings rising from the heart of a shantytown, you are probably in one.

These are South Africa's "homelands" — apartheid's bizarre scheme for getting rid of black citizens by dividing them by tribe and forcing them to live on 10 small, remote patches arbitrarily designated foreign countries. Legally speaking, they evaporated in 1994 when the country held its first nonracial elections. But experts say they have left a mighty imprint on this society that may take decades to dissolve.

Starting in the 1960's, South Africa's white supremacist Government — often arriving before dawn with trucks and dogs — uprooted 3.5 million blacks to resettle them in the homelands.

Besides being torn from their livelihoods, these families lost whatever wealth they had accumulated. Some were given as little as \$10 for their houses. Their furniture and livestock frequently did not survive the move. They usually arrived at a plot empty but for a prefabricated outhouse. There was too little land or water to farm and they were miles from anything like a job.

The plan was to get 80 percent of the population onto 13 percent of the land.

Today, these homelands remain islands of dismal poverty. Their incompetent and corrupt administrations, fostered by the former Government, are a huge burden on the new one. Lavish airports, stadiums and office buildings were built to stroke the egos of compliant homeland leaders but the "citizens" were left in such poor conditions that they lacked even clean water, leaving the grandiose schemes useless. Few of the homelands ever attracted any industry, which doomed the whole scheme to failure.

Still, many of South Africa's blacks stay there because they have



The homelands under apartheid: Left, in 1989, a young girl waited her turn at a communal water tap in Gazankulu. Right, in 1955, army trucks deliver new homeland residents.

homes and family ties and the system succeeded in nurturing tribal allegiances.

"Community patterns are so firmly established," said Richard Humphries of the Center for Policy Studies, "that some people just won't move. They don't want to move."

The homelands fiction — which even included passports that were never taken seriously by other countries — was expensive to maintain. But the apartheid Government was so intent on it that it paid the bills and turned a blind eye to theft and faults in the banana republics it had created.

Many homeland civil servants never had the skills to do their jobs, so it is no accident that provinces that took over the administrations of former homelands are unable to deliver services.

A recent report on the civil service warned that special vigilance was needed in the Eastern Cape and Northern provinces, which incorporated most of the old homelands. Recently, the Eastern Cape adminis-

tration stunned the nation with its callousness. The province, which is made up largely of the former Xhosa homelands of Transkei and Ciskei, ran out of money and simply stopped its meager welfare payments without warning. Elderly people were stranded for days without food or shelter at welfare payment offices, having used their last few cents to get there.

**T**HE homelands used to employ for the sake of employment and the new Government is now stuck with those people," said Xoliswa Hwema, a researcher with the Institute for Democracy in South Africa. "Even when they have the money to do something they don't necessarily have the capacity. They have computers, for instance, but no one knows how to use them."

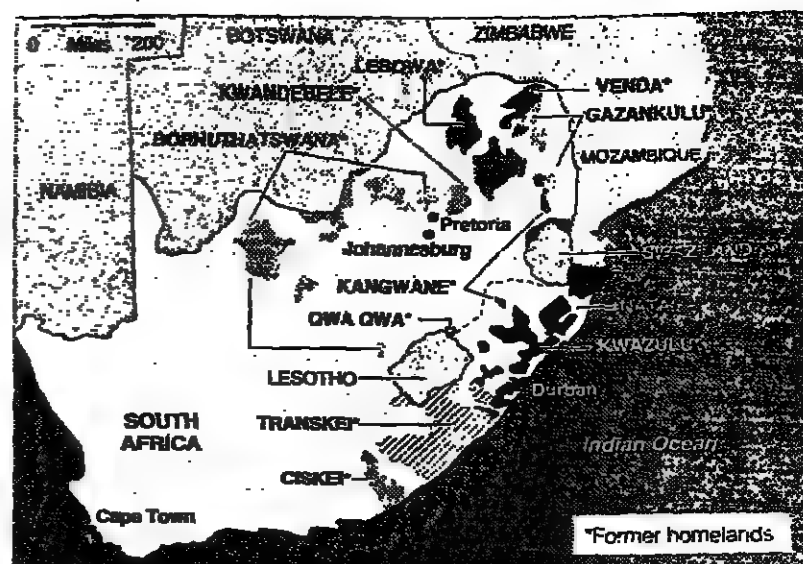
The depth of corruption that occurred in the old administrations is only now becoming clear. The new Government says it has already dropped 60,000 questionable welfare

recipients and 20,000 fraudulent disability claimants from its rolls, most of them from homelands. It has also estimated that it is paying 47,000 ghost workers, mostly inherited from the former homelands.

And Judge Willem Heath, who heads a new investigative team looking into corruption, said he is probing 90,000 other cases involving over \$1 billion. Most of the "rot," he has said, is rooted in the former homeland administrations.

Just last summer, Lucas Mangope, the former head of the most successful homeland, Bophuthatswana, (bah-POO-tah-swah-muh) was convicted on 103 counts of fraud, theft and contravention of exchange regulations involving about \$1.3 million. The 75-year-old former leader received a two-year suspended sentence and was ordered to repay hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Compared to the other homelands, however, "Bop" has done well. It had a platinum mine and was home to Sun City, a casino fantasyland of fake jungle and waterfalls in the



middle of a desert. Since it was near Johannesburg but lacked South Africa's puritanical laws, whites could drive there to indulge in pornography, gamble and drink on Sundays.

**N**OW pornography and gambling are legal all over South Africa. Sun City survives, though not as profitably. Some of Mr. Mangope's excesses, however, remain simply excesses. For instance, he paid \$10 million for a stadium that is rarely used. With 90,000 seats, it dwarfs all American football stadiums, but lacks overhangs to block out the desert sun.

Other former homeland leaders have been absorbed into contemporary politics, some serving in Parliament. Most of them are members of the ruling African National Congress.

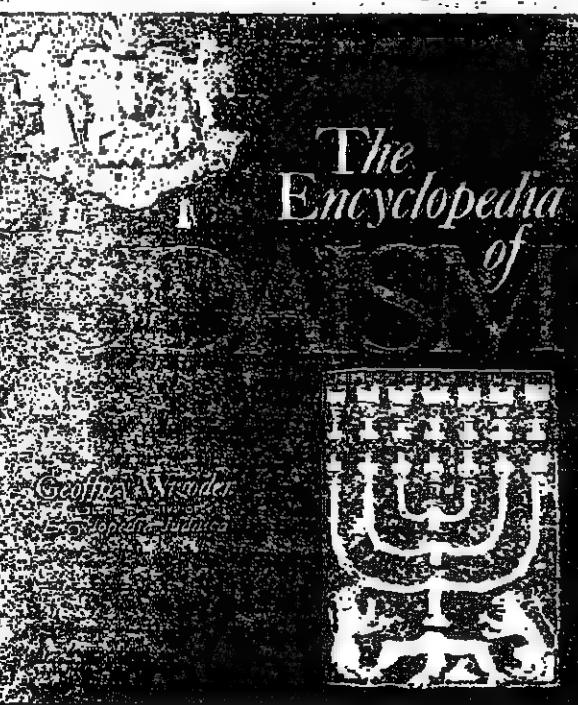
The most spectacular holdout is the flamboyant Bantu Holomisa, a former dictator of the Transkei who came to power by a coup and then aligned himself with the A.N.C. He

was ousted from the party after revealing that Nelson Mandela had accepted a huge campaign donation from Sol Kerzner, the builder of Sun City. But now he has created a new multiracial party, the United Democratic Movement, with Roelf Meyer, the former heir apparent of the National Party, which created apartheid. The new party enjoys wide support in the former Transkei.

Indeed, the former homelands may turn out to be more independent minded than the rest of black South Africa, which continues to support the A.N.C. overwhelmingly. This is perhaps because life has improved less in these remote rural areas than it has in the urban townships.

Paradoxically, there is still talk of creating a new homeland in South Africa. But it is whites this time who want it for themselves. The idea is a rallying cry for many of South Africa's far-right voters. But they are getting nowhere in negotiations with the A.N.C.

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## So Many Liberties, So Little Freedom

(Continued from Page 9)

about America and about themselves, and viewers are sophisticated enough to see past the caricatures.

The image of Los Angeles is horrid: Robbers lurk around every corner and wide-eyed immigrants at first seem destined for drudgery or jail. But as the two main characters zoom about in their cars, have amusing encounters with the police and create their own niches, the essential, refreshing freedom of California shines through.

The male lead, played by the comic actor Ge You, is an appealing but shiftless man who has spent a decade living in a trailer, selling other Chinese immigrants everything from dubious insurance policies to graveyard plots. When the female lead, played by Xu Fan, arrives in town, pretty but penniless, he warns her that there is good news and bad news about America.

"Go back to China," he says. "This is a terrible place."

"O.K., so what is the good news?" she asks.

"That was the good news," he replies. Then: "Do you want to work as a stripper?" She declines the offer and after years of perseverance she achieves a decent living in the promised land and, of course, the two fall in love. America is a land of opportunity after all.

Americans here sometimes have a hard time understanding how many Chinese can simultaneously appreciate the freedom of the West — a growing number of professionals have studied in the United States — and readily dismiss the dissidents as foolish idealists. The vast majority feel they are finally getting a chance to savor freedom in their personal lives and work, and they want to enjoy the fruits of modern society. The last thing most of them want is upheaval.

Unlike most Chinese, dissidents like Xu Wenli are devoting their lives to an abstract cause. The late philosopher Isaiah Berlin famously said there are two types of intellectuals, the foxes who know many things and the hedgehogs who know one big thing. Mr. Xu and many of his colleagues in the democracy movement are hedgehogs, with their minds focused laserlike on their quest and a determination that transcends bravery.

Mr. Xu has already spent 12 years in prison and he assumed, when he started speaking out again this year, that he would probably be imprisoned again. In the face of repeated warnings and detentions, he stepped up the organization of a new political party and other activities to promote freedom.

And what did he talk about after his sham trial on Dec. 22, when he was granted a final

half-hour with his wife before starting a 13-year prison sentence? "He said that the charge of subverting state power made no sense," his wife later said in an interview. "He said it was legally irrational because state power comes from the citizens," she said as she recounted, proudly, the detailed legal and political analysis her husband gave her in their final minutes together. He told her his prison term would give him time to "think things over very calmly and reflect on what has happened and what should be done." He did, before he was finished, express concern about their daughter and tell his wife — a remarkably dedicated person in her own right — to look after her health.

**I**N interviews, some of the veteran dissidents sound almost robotic ticking off their latest analysis of the global forces and domestic politics that affect the democracy movement. But the analysis is often brilliant, and the monotone reflects minds that are wholly concentrated.

What sustains these dissidents is an article of faith: that freedom of speech and association is central to the good of a modern society. If a single idea drives them, it is a big idea, however pushed aside it is in today's China.

As many citizens and even Government officials will tell you, Chinese today can think what they want and say what they want so long as they do not organize against the Communist Party. First-time visitors, having read about repression here, are often surprised at how ordinary things appear: lively newspapers and magazines, fast-paced television news programs and endless commercials for cosmetics and electronic gear. Severe repression singles out a small number of people, and most of the rest accept the Party's limits, with little apparent pain.

Harder to gauge is the cost to people in terms of cynicism and even moral corrosion of blanking out certain kinds of thoughts; of mouthing hackneyed party phrases in some settings while speaking one's true mind in others, and of taking it for granted that all news is subtly crafted to serve the interests of the Communists.

It may be true that social evolution, propelled by economic and technical change, will eventually bring a free and democratic China, though there is no sign this will happen any time soon. In the meantime people like Xu Wenli and Wei Jingsheng, who is now in exile in the United States after spending much of his adult life in prison, will keep pushing as they can. Only time will tell whether their countrymen will some day honor them for their persistence, and their suffering.



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# New Faces of Retirement: Work Is Part of the Plan

By ERIC HÜBLER

**A**s an elder-law attorney in the resort town of Truth or Consequences, N.M., John C. Wheeler can't help but spend time thinking about retirement. Retirees come from all over the Southwest to have him draw up wills and estate plans, so they can feel secure about spending decades doing little but soaking in the hot springs of T. or C., as it's known, boating in nearby Elephant Butte Lake, or roaming the country in recreational vehicles.

"At least half the people I see do the conventional thing" in retirement, Mr. Wheeler said. "They play golf — at least the men do — they travel, and they work in the yard." Others see retirement as an opportunity to nurture a hobby — the most popular seems to be restoring and showing off old cars.

But there is one person who stands out in Mr. Wheeler's mind as epitomizing a healthy, productive retirement: himself.

Mr. Wheeler, 65, had been living and practicing law in Albuquerque. But, disenchanted with the city as it was transformed by growth, he found himself spending more and more time at his mobile home on the Elephant Butte lakefront. So he made a change: "I have an Albuquerque telephone number that calls forwards to T. or C., and I'm leading the kind of life I want to lead."

Mr. Wheeler has cut back his workweek to 30 hours, from 60. "I work when I want to," he said. "And that's my retirement, or my semiretirement. I don't think I'll ever fully quit."

A growing number of retirees clearly agree with him. Retirement today does not necessarily mean disappearing into an endless sunset of golf, fishing or bridge, or sinking into a recliner, never to be creative again. Nor does it mean working until retirement age and then stopping abruptly. Rather, among the growing numbers of older people hesitating enough to have choices, the dividing line between the working years and the retirement years is growing fuzzier.

"The retirement age, which once stood at 65, is being dismantled brick by brick," said John Challenger, chief executive of Challenger, Gray & Christmas, an outplacement firm in Chicago.

"The explosion of jobs and ways of working that are other than full-time, 9-to-5 kinds of arrangements," he said, has "allowed many people to achieve a balance in their lives that is so much more healthy and beneficial spiritually and emotionally and physically than just hitting the wall at a certain age and going from being a hard-working, very involved worker to not doing anything, which was just devastating to many people."

Today's new breed of retiree never really retires — and the choice to remain active is made out of passion, more than the need to pay the bills.

Statistics only hint at the change, which has been difficult to document with evidence other than the anecdotal. In 1987, 11.1 percent of Americans age 65 or older were in the work force, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. A decade later, that number had grown to 12.2 percent.

But if baby boomers' expectations are to be believed, the life of leisure will hold ever less appeal for retirees. In a Roper survey last year for the American Association of Retired Persons, 80 percent of 2,001 boomers ages 33 to 52 said they planned to continue working during retirement, whether for fun or out of a feeling of necessity or both.

"I think this business of retiring at a certain age and sitting around the house is never going to happen again," said Joan Kelly, manager of business partnerships in the A.A.R.P.'s economic security and work issues department.

Calling that phenomenon "a freak thing," she attributed it to changing life expectancies since an official retirement age of 65 was set when Social Security was created in 1936. Based on how many retirement years could be expected for the average person, retiring at 65 then was the equivalent of retiring at 79 today.

Who represents this new face of retirement? Following are profiles of Americans who, like Mr. Wheeler, are in the vanguard of a generation revitalized, both emotionally and professionally, after being liberated from the obligations of a life organized around work. Some are alumni of New Directions, a Wilton, Conn., consulting firm that, for \$15,000 and up, helps clients — mainly high-ranking corporate officers — find what it calls a "portfolio of opportunity" to fill the years after full-time employment. Others have figured out for themselves that the end of a job doesn't mean the end of the line.

But all would probably endorse an observation made by Mr. Wheeler: "I'm more than ever convinced," he said, "that people who only relax and do not continue to engage the mind start losing it."

## From Executive to Angel

So close, yet so far. Robert E. Ray found himself in that position after 27 years at the Gillette Corporation. He had risen steadily at the company and wanted to go all the way to the top. But at 54, he saw that there were four people ahead of him in the race to become chief executive.

He interviewed for chief-executive jobs elsewhere but didn't connect with one, so he took early retirement in 1980, planning to play more tennis and do more sailing and mountain biking. But he found that having fun full-time was boring. "What I'm doing now is not precisely what I'd envisioned eight years ago," said Mr. Ray, now 62. "I have kind of a three-part life."

Those parts, in addition to sports, are charity work and playing business angel, by investing in fledgling companies. Mr. Ray's story offers evidence that leaving a full-time job can pay off financially as well as emotionally. His investments in companies in their beginning stages bring in about as much money as he made at Gillette.

Mr. Ray also helped found a homeless shelter in Boston and is now its chairman. He works on two other programs for the homeless and con-

**The retirement age, which once stood at 65, is being dismantled brick by brick.**

sults without pay for other nonprofit groups. And he still has plenty of time left for his beloved tennis tournaments and other outdoor activities; he and his wife, Sandra, recently returned from a visit to the national parks of southern Utah.

"This works out to be a nice kind of balanced life," Mr. Ray said. "I don't sit down each day and say, 'One and a half days I'm going to do this.' It kind of unfolds. Last Thursday, for example, I played tennis in the morning, then met in the afternoon with a company I'm thinking of investing in. Then the next day I went hiking with a buddy of mine."

Dividing his time and energy this way provides "a good, broad exposure to the world," Mr. Ray said. "The variety makes it not boring at all."

## The Joy of Three-Day Weeks

In 1971, in his early 30's, Bill Price seemed on the cusp of fame and fortune when his novel, "The Potlatch Run," was published. "It did moderately well, and the movies were interested in it — for 10 or 15 minutes," Mr. Price explained.

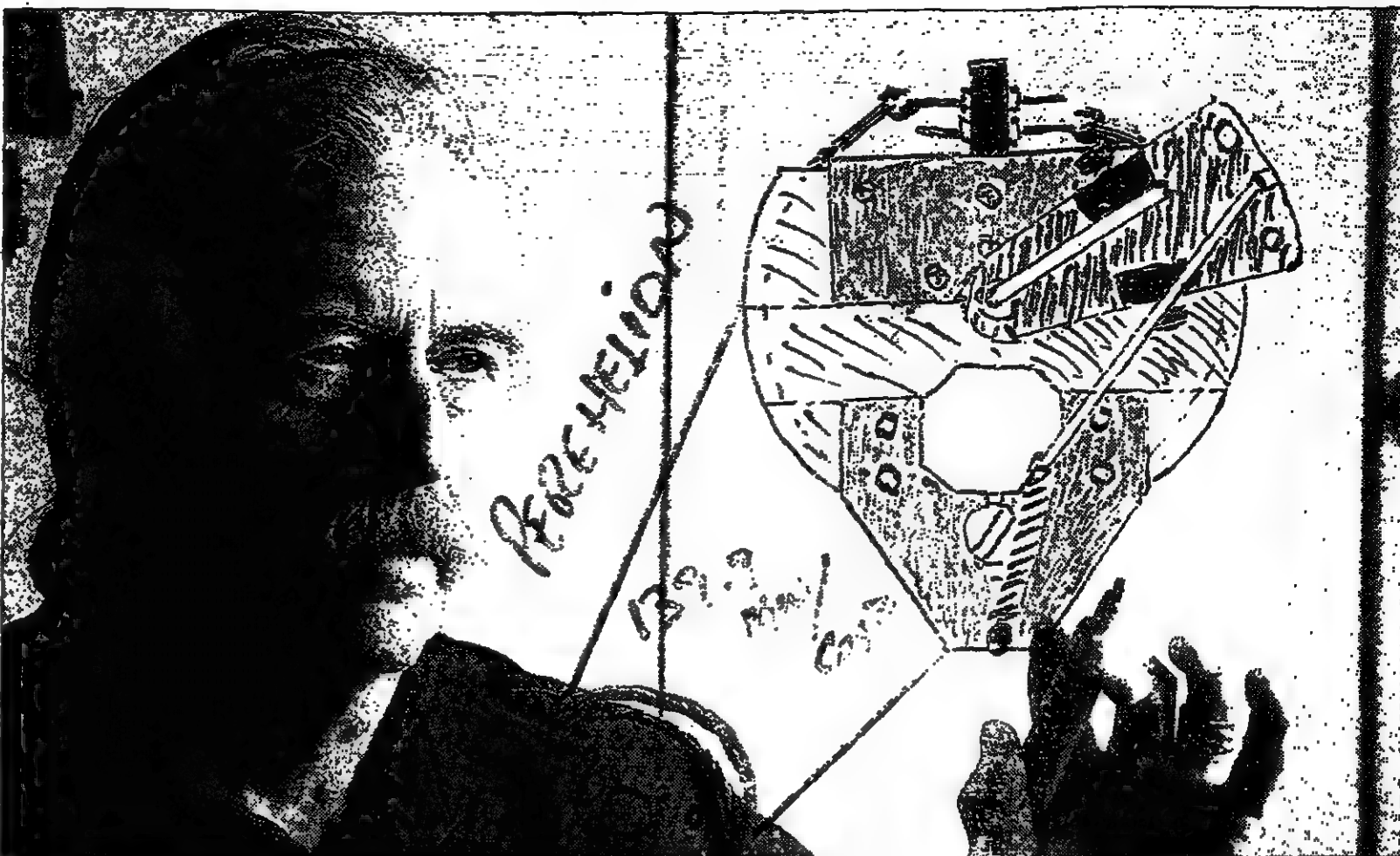
He scraped by for a few years as a freelance editor, but by 1980, he said, "I decided to go back to work — or, to go to work — and make a living." He joined McKinsey & Company, the consulting firm, as a secretary, and moved up the administrative side of the company to become a communications manager, editing and writing for the company's in-house magazine and occasionally traveling to research articles.

A taste of freedom can be hard to forget, though, and by the summer of 1987, Mr. Price was chafing. "I was on an interview trip in Spain," he recalled. "I sat down at one of the sidewalk cafes and said, 'What do I want to do with the rest of my life?' I was approaching 59. That's when I said, 'I'd like to have more time for myself.'"

He asked to work three days a week instead of five. Mr. Price switched to the schedule last January and quickly discovered an unexpected benefit: Taking a mere three days of vacation time now meant having 11 consecutive days off.

"My income dropped 40 percent, but my stress level dropped more," he said. "I no longer have the sense that my responsibilities are crucial to the success of the communications department. Important, yes; crucial, no. One of the tricks to making this kind of decision is not to be confused about those two words."

Mr. Price's wife had died of breast cancer two years earlier, and though



Choosing a sunny climate for retirement was about more than relaxation for Richard Stegeman, who is developing a small solar-powered engine.

he said the loss did not influence his career decision, it is clear that the thought of leaving the world without spending as much time as possible with family weighed heavily on him. He shares his house in Fort Greene, Brooklyn, with a divorced daughter, his 8-year-old granddaughter, the daughter's fiancé and the fiancé's 9-year-old son.

Having the kids around is "delightful," Mr. Price said. "I just taught my granddaughter how to play chess," he said, "and I'm teaching them how to lose at poker."

Indeed, the children figure prominently in a poetic goal that Mr. Price has set for himself. He has a country house in the Berkshires and recently bought an antique Flexible Flyer sled that seats three. "I intend," he said, "to wear it out in my lifetime."

## Private Sector to Public

David T. Kearns came to know a lot of executives in a decades-long career, first in sales and marketing at L.B.M. and then as a leader for nearly 20 years at Xerox, and he was befuddled by what some of them did the moment they went off the payroll. "By golly, when they retired, they retired — completely," he said. "They play golf and travel and so forth."

Mr. Kearns knew he would be retiring as chairman and chief executive of Xerox in 1990, at age 60, because a succession plan said so. For him, however, retirement has proved to be an opportunity to delve deeper into education issues, which had become important to him as a result of two dozen business trips to Japan in the days when Japanese schools were first being seen as better than their American counterparts.

Just a few months after Mr. Kearns stepped down at Xerox, he received an invitation from Lamar Alexander, newly appointed as Secretary of Education by President George Bush, to become a deputy secretary.

"A lot of my friends couldn't figure out why I was going, but I liked it," Mr. Kearns said. "Had the President been re-elected, I would have

stayed."

Instead, Mr. Kearns found himself out of office for the second time in two years. He was also rapidly losing his eyesight because of a tumor behind his eyes. Yet he went to Harvard University to teach at the school of education for several years.

Now nearly completely blind, Mr. Kearns can read his own writing only if he uses a big crayon. But with the help of a personal assistant, he is still working. Based in an office that Xerox provides for him in Stamford, Conn., he is chairman New American Schools Development Corporation, a nonprofit organization that seeks changes in education, and he is working on his second book about education. He and his wife, Shirley, spend some time in Florida, but have no plans to live there year-round.

"I fill up my time pretty well," Mr. Kearns said.

## Busy on a Modest Budget

The experience of Gladys Stewart shows that being of modest means does not have to crush a desire to live fully in old age.

"After I retired, I said I was going to sleep all day," said Mrs. Stewart, 77, who lives in the Bronx. Who could blame her, after she had worked three decades as a practical nurse? But doing nothing turned out to be the one thing she couldn't do.

"Since I retired, what have I done? Oh, boy!" Mrs. Stewart said, before launching into a laundry list of activities. She is the guardian for one sister, who lives with her, and visits another sister in a nursing home several times a month. She takes a 90-year-old neighbor shopping and a 99-year-old neighbor to the doctor. She attends A.A.R.P. and N.A.A.C.P. meetings, exercises at the local senior center and is a member of the women's guild at her church. Her 31-year-old son, a stockbroker, is separated from his wife and has moved back in.

After retiring in 1976, Mrs. Stewart worked part-time to save for some home improvements and was almost too successful. She started with private-duty nursing — caring for a single patient in the patient's home

— but the client died after a few months. Then she worked part-time in a nursing home.

"I did that about six months," she recalled. "Then finally the supervisor said to me, 'Stewart, if I live to be your age and look as well as you look, I would not stop working.' She asked me to join the staff full time. I said: 'That's your cup of tea, not mine. Retirement means retirement.'"

She was serious about it this time and has not done any paid work since. Mrs. Stewart and her husband, James, 76, a World War II munitions worker turned maintenance man, both collect city pensions and Social Security — "which keeps you two cents from begging," she said. Mr. Stewart, 76, works part-time at Macy's and cleans rugs on the side.

Nor is this the first time that Mrs. Stewart has rejected a life of leisure. When the Stewarts married, in 1944, he was making enough money building bombs in Connecticut that she could afford to be — indeed, was expected to be — a lady of leisure. "After we got married," she said, "I went to every theater there was at that time — the Strand, the Roxy — I just had a good time."

But she soon made a choice that continues to define her life to this day: "I said, 'This is not for me.'"

## Hoping to Change the World

Many people take advantage of retirement to increase their commitment to charitable projects in their communities. For Richard Stegeman, a retired contract engineer for NASA, that community is the planet Earth.

Years ago, Mr. Stegeman, a mechanical engineer, observed that most solar power-generation equipment was too complex to be maintained where it was needed most, in developing countries. For 15 years, he dreamed of making a solar engine so low-tech that it could be built and maintained at remote sites.

His work on the engine remained a mad-scientist hobby until one day last year, when he was at the Goddard Space Flight Center in Greenbelt, Md., watching live televised pictures of Africa from a shuttle mis-

sion, and had a sudden realization. "It was time for me to act," he said. "I was definitely on the wrong side of the clouds."

Mr. Stegeman, now 65, had remained single until he was 56 and had never bothered saving much money. He and his wife, Linda Frazee Stegeman, a psychotherapist, took a hard look at their finances and concluded that he really should not leave his job.

He did anyway, and they moved from Maryland to Arizona, in part to be near Mrs. Stegeman's daughter and in part for the sunny skies he needed for his experiments. "The worst-case scenario is, we won't go to jail and we won't starve to death," Mr. Stegeman said, recalling their deliberations. "So we said, 'O.K., let's do it.'"

His retirement account is fast losing altitude, but Mr. Stegeman nonetheless is forming a nonprofit corporation to manufacture and market his engine. He hopes to soon be able to pay himself a salary.

A prototype of the engine — dubbed Water Heart by a physician friend because of its resemblance to a human heart — sits in the third bay of the couple's three-car garage. It is an adaptation of the atmosphere engine, a predecessor to the steam engine that was abandoned because of its inefficiency, but which is viable, Mr. Stegeman believes, with the sun as its energy source.

Instead of boiling large quantities of water, the engine heats just enough to create a pressure differential that moves a piston. It only puts out 1.5 horsepower, but that is enough to irrigate a field. The only byproduct is distilled water.

If successful, the Water Heart could help provide nourishing food and clean water to people who could otherwise die for lack of them. But the project is already saving one spirit: Mr. Stegeman's. It has also attracted like-minded engineers and humanitarians interested in working with him.

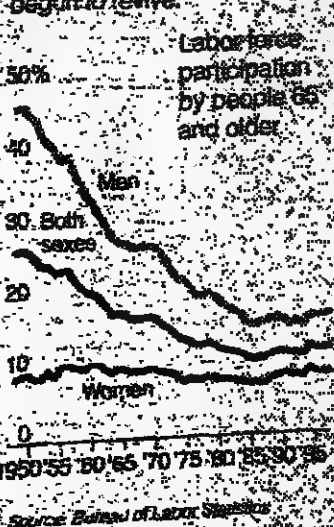
"The ideal for me," he said, "would be to bump into some retired guy who has a lot of time on his hands and would get all turned on by this and just want to help me."



John Wheeler still practices law, but now does so from an office in his home near Elephant Butte Lake, N.M., finding time between recreational forays into former mining country. "I work when I want to," he said.

## Back to Work

After dropping sharply for decades, older Americans' interest in working — whether by choice or necessity — has begun to revive.



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

The New York Times



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## A Turn for the Better at the U.N.

Kofi Annan has brought renewed idealism and strengthened management to the United Nations since taking charge as Secretary General two years ago. He has also improved relations with Washington from the sorry level they had sunk to under his predecessor, Boutros Boutros-Ghali. But the U.N.'s diplomatic credibility continues to erode, especially with regard to Iraq. Most of the blame lies with a Security Council divided by Saddam Hussein's endless provocations. But Mr. Annan's own efforts at dialogue with Baghdad have complicated matters.

A good Secretary General must combine the skills of a smooth diplomat, deft organizational politician and unsentimental budget cutter. The job comes with enormous prestige but limited power. The U.N. has no army to enforce its resolutions and must pester its members to pay their dues. Mr. Annan's job has also been made harder by the breakdown of the broad consensus between Washington and Moscow that enabled the Security Council to function smoothly in the early 1990's.

Mr. Annan's strength has been his articulate advocacy of the U.N.'s humanitarian and internationalist ideals. He has pressed for new programs to educate the world's poor and to ease third-world debt. He worked hard for a strong international criminal court, only to be frustrated when the Clinton Administration deferred to unfounded Pentagon fears and kept America from joining.

Though he made his own career as a U.N. official, Mr. Annan has usefully challenged the organization's clubby and ingrown culture, bringing in fresh thinking from humanitarian organizations and business executives. He has raised the quality of top U.N. staff, appointing Mary Robinson as High Commissioner on Human Rights and Jayantha Dhanapala as Under Secretary General for Disarmament Affairs. But he has not consistently backed his appointees against resistant bureaucrats.

The critical test of Mr. Annan's five-year tenure will be whether he helps define a constructive new relationship between the United States and the United Nations. As the world's only military super-

power, Washington is capable of intervening on its own in world crises should it grow frustrated with the weakness of U.N. diplomacy.

Understandably, Washington would like U.N. decisions to mirror American policy goals. But sometimes it better serves the United States to sacrifice some immediate objectives in order to build a broader international consensus and uphold international rule of law. Mr. Annan cannot hope to persuade any country to act counter to its own interests. But it is his role to encourage Security Council members to rise above narrow national considerations and focus on compelling international threats, like Iraq's secret production of biological and chemical weapons. The more he can do so, the more seriously Washington will take the U.N.

Mr. Annan, with long U.N. experience and a deep affinity for the United States, has the background to create a strong working partnership between Washington and the U.N. But it is still not clear whether he will succeed in doing so. Some of his efforts to avoid armed conflict with Iraq through unwarranted diplomatic concessions have justifiably irritated the Clinton Administration and Congress. Mr. Annan was right to fly to Baghdad last February and negotiate a deal allowing U.N. weapons investigators to inspect Iraqi presidential palaces. But he followed that up by appointing his own diplomatic representative to Baghdad. Iraq exploited the arrangement to undermine the authority of the chief U.N. weapons inspector, Richard Butler, and heighten Security Council divisions.

Washington also remains at odds with the U.N. over the scandalous arrears of American dues and the need for continued U.N. cost-cutting. There has been progress on both fronts, but not enough. America's back dues remain unpaid and Mr. Annan must cut the U.N.'s bloated staff and budget more deeply. On balance, Mr. Annan's tenure has begun promisingly. He must learn from his mistakes on Iraq and work even harder in the next three years to create a leaner and more vital United Nations ready to meet the challenges of the new millennium.

## Mr. Pataki's New Year Challenge

Gov. George Pataki of New York must be looking at 1999 with particular curiosity. Mr. Pataki was sworn in for a second term on New Year's Day, following a comfortable re-election victory last November. The state's economy is still strong and the upcoming legislative session does not seem to hold any dramatic challenges.

But Mr. Pataki has never been a politician who likes to nest in a safe place. His risk tolerance is very high for a New York elected official, his career marked by an eagerness to move up the ladder even if it meant taking a chance. If the Governor could look into a crystal ball and see a long stretch of serene prosperity that left him still occupying his current job in 2004, he might be disappointed.

If Mr. Pataki has national ambitions, however, he needs to bulk up his reputation for substance. He has a good record as an environmentalist and a tax-cutter, but the woods are full of ambitious Republican governors, many of them even better vote-getters with stronger records for innovation. This year offers Mr. Pataki the chance to prove that he has the strength and will to put forth his own path-breaking agenda.

The Governor can do this by tackling New York's scandalous campaign-finance system. As a recent Times story by Clifford Levy pointed out, the campaign-finance regulations that do exist are riven with loopholes and enforced by an understaffed bureaucracy. During his recent campaign, Mr. Pataki declared the status quo "dreadful" and promised major, though undefined, reform.

It is time for the Governor to show his hand and make his proposals. State Comptroller Carl McCall has already said he will offer a series of reforms, including public financing for campaigns, a ban on the monster loophole called "soft money" and restrictions on campaign contributions by people doing business with the state. But the reality of politics in New York is that for real reform to succeed, it must be championed by a Republican like Mr. Pataki, since it is the Republican Party that has been the chief obstacle to change.

Mr. Pataki knows better than anyone in New York what a wreck the state's political system is. The Legislature is perpetually divided between a Republican Senate and Democratic Assembly, and most members are in seats so safe they are virtual lifetime sinecures. The legislators respond mainly to the importuning of lobbyists who control campaign contributions, not the public. None of those things will change until the flow of money through the state's porous campaign-finance regulations stops.

The Republican Party in New York is struggling right now. Senator Alfonse D'Amato, its leader and heart, lost his re-election bid. Mr. Pataki is not only the logical head of the state's Republican forces, he is now the only member of his party, other than the Lieutenant Governor, holding statewide office. This is the right time for him to direct his party and his state in a different direction, toward a political world in which policy is no longer made on the basis of campaign donations.

## The Limits of Technology

Amusing as it is simply to sit back and watch the calendar of the Western world flip over, it is reasonable to expect that 1999 — prologue to a new millennium — will yield some themes that ask for real reflection. Here is one. In the blizzard of commentary already blowing in, it is becoming apparent that we are nearly blinded by technology. Trying to gauge the meaning of a new millennium, we almost instinctively do so by marveling at the rate of technological change, which we cannot help believing will only increase. It seems like the most salient feature of human culture during the last 200 years.

But the rate at which technology has been changing probably masks the underlying stability of human nature. The rate of change in our world is simply dizzying, and it is only natural to wonder whether humans who live in 1999 are different somehow, given the explosion of technological innovation in their lifetime, than humans who lived 1,000 years ago.

Material conditions in the richest societies are certainly different now than they were in the richest societies in the year 1000, and they are more different from 1000 than 1000 was from the year 1. The way we explain human nature is radically different too, thanks mostly to Darwin. Yet there is no evidence that human nature has altered in that time or, indeed, since human history began. Life has

always been as complex as it could possibly be. Humans have always admired their own adaptability and lamented the peculiar complications of the times they live in. There is no burying the past because the past — to the extent that it was determined by the raw potential of human nature — is reborn in every generation.

We are caught, in a sense, between two kinds of evolution. Biological evolution works on a nearly geological time scale, which suggests that human nature, as a partial product of our genes, is basically constant. Cultural evolution works with shocking swiftness, and so we assume that it is mainly a propulsive, liberating, even revolutionary force. But human culture has always usefully constrained human behavior as well as expressed it. No human society has ever tolerated the entire range of instinctive, "natural" human behavior. That selective intolerance is among the things we mean by civilization.

This is one of the fundamental tensions we will carry into the new millennium. For most of history humans have shaped civilizations commensurate with the level of their material technology. In some cases, like ancient Athens, the former far outstripped the latter. Startling new technologies will inevitably proliferate in the years to come. We need to remember that the measure of a civilization is not the tools it owns but the use it makes of them.

## One Word on Campaign Reform

To the Editor:

A Dec. 27 editorial calls for another round of limiting election campaign contributions, this time the so-called soft money gifts to political parties as opposed to gifts directly to candidates.

Many Americans are happy supporting — through individual, collective and corporate contributions — candidates they choose with as much money as they can afford through hard- and soft-money contributions. These Americans exercise their constitutional right to support the political speech they like.

You advocate Clintonesque, aggressive, big government-style reforms, including another powerful regulatory body accountable to no one. These proposals were defeated last session because many people don't support them.

America really needs just one word of campaign finance reform: sunshine. All candidates at all levels should be required to fully disclose all contributions and all spending. Disclosure should be complete, timely, standardized, extensively promulgated on the Web and analyzed by the media.

ADAM L. LEADER  
Berkeley, Calif., Dec. 27, 1998

To the Editor:

Your judicious piece on campaign reform (editorial, Dec. 27) omits one essential — the role of television as a primary campaign vehicle. If broadcasters were made to provide free time on the public airways for office seekers, much of the campaign financing problem would dissolve. This is pretty obvious and not a new idea, yet it certainly needs emphasis in any discussion of this very serious issue.

ROBERT W. JULY  
New York, Dec. 27, 1998

To the Editor:

We share your frustration that no reform was won in the last Congress (editorial, Dec. 27). But you are wrong to call for a restoration of the system you and all reformers have rallied against for years. That's the system rife with conflict of interest, one in which public policy is for sale to the highest bidder, and the system in which the candidate who has the most money wins 90 percent of the time. This is what we want?

Revolutionary reform is precisely what our campaign finance system needs. The fundamental problem is

that there is too much given by a tiny minority of very wealthy special interests.

In Arizona, Massachusetts, Maine and Vermont clean-money systems are now law — systems in which candidates who spend no private money and accept spending limits receive full public financing. A revolution indeed.

ELLEN S. MILLER  
Washington, Dec. 29, 1998  
The writer is executive director of Public Campaign.

To the Editor:

Re "What Price Digital Television?" (editorial, Dec. 26): We give the broadcasters \$70 billion worth of a public asset — additional channels — for free and then squabble over a few crumbs of air time that might be returned to the political process that created it all. Five minutes of free time a night in the month before election, as suggested by the Federal Communica-



Robert Stewart

tions Commission?

Shouldn't we be looking for something better here? How about starting negotiations with a proposal for full free air time for all major candidates for all regional or national elections? Broadcasters do not plan to offer 24 hours of high definition programming in the near future. If they can convert their single high-definition channel into six regular channels, they certainly could offer the political process an entire channel for much of the day and still get five whole channels for free.

STEVE COHEN  
Los Angeles, Dec. 28, 1998

## 'Bible-Based' Town

To the Editor:

In trying to incorporate as a municipality whose charter will be the Bible, the people of Brooksville, Ala. (Brooksville Journal, Dec. 30) are not challenging some marginal and arguably exaggerated application of the principle of separation of church and state, as their spokesman would have it. They are taking direct aim at its core meaning.

That meaning, universally accepted in the 19th century and rarely challenged in the 20th, is that religion should not be the organizing principle of any political unit. In recognition of this principle, the New Jersey Supreme Court in 1979 dissolved a municipal charter granted by the Legislature to the Ocean Grove Camp Meeting Association.

The effort to incorporate Brooksville as a "Bible-based" town may be nothing more than a local aberration. It could also be a harbinger of a more ominous trend.

Much depends on the reaction to the Brooksville effort of the national organizations that speak for evangelical Christians.

MARC D. STERN  
New York, Dec. 30, 1998

The writer is the co-director of the Commission for Law and Social Action, American Jewish Congress.

## A Quick Conversion

To the Editor:

Re "Vision of Community Guided by Hand of God" (Brooksville Journal, Dec. 30): As a First Amendment fundamentalist who believes strongly in separation of church and state, I hope that the Rev. James Henderson succeeds in incorporating Brooksville, Ala., under "biblical principles" and draws a large number of Christians to live there. It's inevitable that residents would quickly experience the serious dangers of mixing church and state — and if so, would very likely turn into evangelists for rigorous church-state separation.

HOWARD A. KARTEN  
Randolph, Mass., Dec. 30, 1998

## Not Lifelong Soldiers

To the Editor:

President Clinton's support for raising military pensions (front page, Dec. 27) as a way of retaining seasoned soldiers, ignores changes in American society.

Just as young people no longer expect or prefer to join General Motors or AT&T after graduation and work there until retirement, they join the military to serve and learn skills and move on.

Raising pensions will not handcuff soldiers to their careers. They will still move on. The country benefits as skilled workers move from the tax-paying to the taxpaying side of the economy.

Instead of raising pensions, we should increase training for soldiers to induce them to work where they do not want to work.

RICHARD WALLERSTEIN  
Berkeley Heights, N.J., Dec. 28, 1998

## Crafting of History

To the Editor:

Unwisely, I agree with John Demos (Op-Ed, Dec. 30) that too few historians do not mention academics in general, either can or desire to write well enough to gain a wider readership. Sadly, "writer" is even something of a pejorative term among historians.

As much as some historians may deny it, the fact is that history writing is ultimately a kind of fiction writing. All historians have agendas and biases, whether conscious or unconscious, that shape the picture of the past they present.

No one knows what really happened in the past; "history" is only what a particular author believes happened. So it is hypocritical of some historians to oppose the educated guesswork some scholars thread into their historical narratives, especially since such techniques result in works people actually want to read.

JOHN R. WILSON  
Columbus, Ohio, Dec. 30, 1998  
The writer is a graduate student in history at Ohio State University.

To the Editor:

I would like to argue in support of the "winds of change" at the University of Chicago (letters, Dec. 31; front page, Dec. 28). Until the current reforms, our core curriculum (courses largely outside of departments, designed specifically for the core) occupied roughly two out of a student's four years at the college. Students had almost no opportunity to take courses outside their majors.

Under the new program, the core remains central, but students will now have more of an opportunity to partake of the other riches of the university. The real issue is not serious education versus consumerism, careerism and fluff, but how to balance the different elements of an intellectually rigorous education.

The University of Chicago will remain the tough place it has always been, and our students will continue to read Kierkegaard well into the night.

DANIEL GARBER  
Chicago, Dec. 31, 1998  
The writer is a professor of philosophy and a former associate provost at the University of Chicago.

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## In Senate, to Call Witnesses or Not?

To the Editor:

Representative Asa Hutchinson gives a reasoned and careful explanation as to why he and the other House managers believe the Senate must proceed with a trial of President Clinton ("A Trial Without Evidence?", Op-Ed, Dec. 31). Of course his argument misses the point that perhaps the Senate, like the majority of American people, finds the entire matter unworthy of more debate.

Painful as it must be to Representatives Henry Hyde, Hutchinson and the rest, thank goodness that at least some of our elected officials seem ready to get on with their legitimate duties.

DAVID LIEBER  
Brooklyn, Dec. 31, 1998

To the Editor:

Henry J. Hyde, the chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, argues that the Senate must hear live witnesses. Representative Asa Hutchinson (Op-Ed, Dec. 31) argues that there can be no "impartial justice" without "assessing the credibility of witnesses by hearing their testimony." These are the same Republicans who claimed that live witnesses in the House inquiry were unnecessary because everyone had testified under oath in the grand jury and surely that was enough to satisfy any concerns about credibility.

The Republicans say they want to go straight to the facts. But the Senate should first judge whether the President's alleged conduct, even if proved true, rises to the level of offenses that meet the constitutional standard for the impeachment and removal of a President. If the Senate decides the President's alleged conduct is not impeachable, a factual inquiry, with or without witnesses, would be unnecessary.

(Rep.) JERROLD NADLER  
New York, Dec. 31, 1998  
The writer is a member of the House Judiciary Committee.

To the Editor:

Asa Hutchinson's Dec. 31 Op-Ed article, "A Trial Without Evidence?", ignores the obvious. The plan being considered by the Senate majority leader, Trent Lott, for an abbreviated hearing is akin to a motion to dismiss. Mr. Hutchinson, a former United States Attorney, says the adjudicative body should not consider dismissing a charge referred to it by the charging body. This happens every day in Federal district courts, when a judge dismisses charges referred by a grand jury and prosecuted by United States attorneys.

(The Constitution gives the Senate impeachment powers "judging the roles of fact and law.") It recently happened in the Mike Espy case, when the judge dismissed eight or so charges, before the jury found Mr. Espy not guilty of 30 more.

KEVIN J. KEEFE  
Washington, Dec. 31, 1998

To the Editor:

I was surprised to read Representative Asa Hutchinson's article ("A Trial Without Evidence?", Op-Ed, Dec. 31). For a man who appears to have some intelligence, he seems to have missed the point. The plan apparently being discussed by Senators Trent Lott and Tom Daschle is a way of fixing the inadequate and partisan job done by the House. The Senate will, in effect, be doing the House's job over again, only better (one hopes).

WILLIAM M. VOGEL  
Albuquerque, N.M., Dec. 31, 1998

To the Editor:

There is something deeply troubling about concerted efforts of the Senate to avoid a trial of President Clinton and cobble together an expedient resolution of censure (front page, Dec. 31). In any meaningful censure resolution, the President will have to admit to lying under oath, which he apparently will not do. Even though most people do not believe the President's contention, he does not believe that he lied. Why should he be coerced into admitting something that he does not believe is true?

The President knows that the vast majority of the public does not want him removed from office, and there are not 67 votes in the Senate to convict him. Under these circumstances I believe that the President owes it to himself, his office, his family and friends, and the American people to go to trial and put on a spirited and vigorous defense. This sorry episode needs to be brought to a meaningful conclusion, and perfunctory constitutional short-cutting will not in the end be satisfactory.

ARTHUR M. SBATZ  
Bayside, Queens, Dec. 31, 1998

To the Editor:

In honor of the New Year, the Republican Party should sober up and smell the censure.

In the last few months, we've all watched Henry Hyde metamorphose from a wise "grandfatherly" figure into a desperate old Vegas gambler, praying that this last time, in the Senate, he'll beat those impossible odds. The conservative Republican leaders are down to their last quarter and, incredibly, they've got the handle in their hand yet again (Op-Ed, Dec. 31).

But it's our money, time and national reputation they're squandering. The new Congress will probably be even more ineffectual, distracted and partisan than the last one. It's not too late to learn when to say when.

FREDERICK MEYERSON  
New Haven, Dec. 31, 1998

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## THE ARTS

## New Film, New Chapter in a Storied Union

By KAREN DURBIN

THE story of "Private Confessions," which opens Wednesday, is classic Ingmar Bergman territory. An unhappily married minister's wife has embarked on an affair with a young seminarian; torn between guilt at lying and a belief in the essential truth of her love, she turns to an old friend, her confirmation priest, whose counsel will alter her life in unintended ways.

"Private Confessions" is enormously moving, with a moral and emotional gravity that has become increasingly rare in movies. Watching it, I felt the relief I always used to feel settling into a Bergman film — that here at last was a filmmaker willing to admit how hard the most ordinary life can be, and how alarmingly drastic.

But this film has two makers. Written by Mr. Bergman and directed by Liv Ullmann, "Private Confessions" opens a new chapter in a relationship that began more than three decades ago, when Ms. Ullmann played opposite Bibi Andersson in what is probably Mr. Bergman's most famous movie, "Persona." Mr. Bergman, who is 80, turned to directing theater full time 15 years ago, but he continues to write films. Ms. Ullmann will direct a second Bergman screenplay — the Swedish title means "Faithless" — later this year. She says she was so delighted when Mr. Bergman asked her to make "Private Confessions" that she accepted without even reading it. "This is a circle that has closed, because I missed working with Ingmar, and this meant working with him in a different way," she said on a recent visit to New York, where she keeps an apartment. Once Mr. Bergman directed Ms. Ullmann, now she directs him. Given her central place in his films and his life, it seems fitting that she should.

The unhappily married couple in "Private Confessions" are named Bergman, and they first appeared in "Best Intentions," which Mr. Bergman wrote and Bille August directed in 1992. With both scripts, Mr. Bergman continues the task he began in 1984 with "Fanny and Alexander": To come to terms with his troubled childhood as the son of a harshly punitive Lutheran minister and a mother who kept him at arm's length. Although Mr. Bergman is considered an autobiographical filmmaker, it was only when he became involved with Ms. Ullmann that his work made a decisive shift in that direction.

Beginning with "Persona" (1966), he turned deeply inward, and the nine films they made together over the next 12 years, when Mr. Bergman's film career was at its peak, reflect his most private concerns. More than any other Bergman actress, Ms. Ullmann embodies his core themes of anguish, loss and failure — the anguish of everyday life, the radical loss of faith, and the failure of love to console.

In "Persona," Ms. Ullmann embodies Mr. Bergman himself. Here, the anguish of everyday life includes a tormenting sense of inauthenticity. This is what causes the breakdown of the actress Elizabeth Vogler, played by Ms. Ullmann, and plunges her into silence. Elizabeth's defining gift, the ability to portray the real, is also the root of her alienation: She feels fraudulent. Ms. Ullmann's luminous blue eyes and softly rounded face are uniquely suited to expressing the most naked vulnerability, but in "Persona" nearly the opposite happens. Elizabeth's silence, which begins as a traumatized rejection of the world, gradually becomes a form of power. As Elizabeth's cheerful young nurse, Alma (Ms. Andersson), starts compulsively spilling the contents of her own life, Elizabeth silently sops them up until nothing is left. In the movie's most famous shot, the women's faces fuse: Alma has been subsumed into Elizabeth, she has become the stronger woman's creature — as an actress may become the creature of her director.

"Luckily, the part he gave me was a silent person," Ms. Ullmann says. "I was Norwegian, I couldn't even have tried to speak Swedish, I was probably too scared to talk at all. But I did recognize him somehow, and I knew that I was him. That was my great understanding at 25. I didn't really understand my part, because I was playing someone 40 years old. But I knew it was Ingmar, and my instinct explained it for me."

Ms. Ullmann and Mr. Bergman fell in love while making "Persona." Both were married but left their mates and had a daughter, Linn. In his 1987 autobiography, "The Magic Lantern," Mr. Bergman says simply,

### A journey into Bergman territory, with Liv Ullmann as the director.

"Liv and I were overwhelmed by passion," and describes building a house for them on Faro (pronounced Forå), his beloved island retreat off Sweden's Baltic coast.

Ms. Ullmann's recollection is more complicated. "We were walking on this stony beach and he said, 'I have to tell you, this night I had a dream that we were painfully connected.' You know, I more or less fell in love with that. I mean, Ingmar Bergman is painfully connected to me?" She laughs at the memory of a young actress's susceptibility to the tortured blandishments of a great artist. "Well, I regretted it and went back to Norway, and he came to Norway and got me back to Sweden. And then I became pregnant, and I left him again. Then he asked me to come back; he had written a film for a pregnant woman. So I went back, and that was 'Hour of the Wolf.' We never married. I moved to Faro, where I lived for 5 years. It was there we did 'Shame,' and then 'The Passion of Anna,' but that was toward the end. And then it was over, that part, and I took my child and went back to Norway."

Mr. Bergman's description of their end has the terse poetry of an epitaph: "She stayed a few years. We fought our demons as best we could. When she left, we knew." Ms. Ullmann's description of their serial parting in "Changing," her best-selling 1976 memoir, has the humor, passion, sadness and desperation of a Bergman movie. "It was the practical matters one had to consider in order to break out," she notes dryly. To get off Faro, there were four gates to open, drive through and close, and a ferry to catch, but "our fights never coincided with its schedule." Long before this obstacle course could be completed, they would make up. Once he ordered a taxi plane to expedite her departure, but "We became friends again, by the suitcases."

When the final parting came, they did the only thing they could: pretend it wasn't a parting at all. "Just a short trip to Norway," she writes. With everything packed and the bags in the car, they remained carefully casual. It was left to their housekeeper to step behind a curtain and weep.

The Bergman movie this story brings to mind, of course, is "Scenes from a Marriage." Made in six parts for Swedish television and trimmed to just under three hours for theatrical release in 1973, it has none of the visual panache of the films that preceded it: the elegant black and white severity of "Persona," the rough documentary chiaroscuro of "Shame," the gorgeous reds in "Cries and Whispers" that turn every room into a bloody chamber. Shot, like those movies, by the great cinematographer Sven Nykvist, "Scenes from a Marriage" looks as unromantic as the fraying union that is its subject. Full of two-shots and close-ups of Ms. Ullmann and her costar, Erland Josephson, the film is relentless in its intimacy: embar-



Liv Ullmann at a friend's house in Key Largo, Fla. Once Ingmar Bergman's actress and muse, she has become a director in her own right.

rassing, revelatory, painful, slyly funny and occasionally sublime. When he tells her he is leaving her for another woman, we hear him but the camera watches her, avidly studying her every reaction. Working fast, with little rehearsal, Ms. Ullmann has never been subtler or more fearless. Neither has Mr. Bergman's writing, with every line at perfect pitch.

Perhaps the most striking thing about "Scenes From a Marriage" is how immediate it feels. Much of "Persona" remains powerful, but there are moments when its stylish solemnity looks dated and naïve, the perfect template for "Sprockets," Mike Myers's wicked "Saturday Night Live" send-up of art-film pretensions. But "Scenes from a Marriage" hasn't aged five minutes in its 26 years.

Mr. Bergman made the film when he was 55 and in the first years of his fifth and only lasting marriage, to Ingrid von Rosen, a close friend.

Ms. Ullmann enabled Mr. Bergman to express his deepest anxieties in many films, but she held out another possibility. Ms. Ullmann often signifies a kind of wholeness for Mr. Bergman — something that seems undamaged and therefore implies hope. "Scenes from a Marriage" reconciles, however tentatively, his conflicted perceptions about men and women: for the first time, consolation is possible. Although he and Ms. Ullmann made three more films together, this was their last truly successful collaboration. In its emotional maturity, "Scenes from a Marriage" anticipated the work that they are doing now.

Even people who should know better have a tendency to call Ms. Ullmann's "Private Confessions" a Bergman movie, as if she had dutifully executed his detailed wishes. In other words, as if she were his creature. But as their professional and personal history makes clear, she has not been that in years. If indeed she ever was. In "Fanny and Alexander," Mr. Bergman wrote the part of the young mother — his mother — for Ms. Ullmann; when she declined to play it, he was furious. She says she regrets now not being part of his last film. "But I suddenly couldn't do it. I couldn't be ashamed any more. I couldn't be guilty. Because I'm not anguished the way he is. He struggles with this anguish and with the difficulty of being a human being. He stays on his island, and I want to travel the world."

Ms. Ullmann was breaking out once more, this time in a direction that would eventually bring her back to him. By 1991 she was writing and

directing "Sofie," her first feature and a good one, about a happy marriage and an unhappy one and the links between them. "I called Ingmar from the airport and told him. He said, 'Oh, my god.'" Her second film, "Kristin Lavransdatter," based on Sigrid Undset's epic novel of medieval Norway, became that country's "Titanic," seen at least once by more than half the population. When Mr. Bergman offered her "Private Confessions," she wondered if he would try to look over her shoulder. They argued over a few things in the rough cut, but in the end, he not only respected her choices but embraced them.

Although "Private Confessions" was shot by Sven Nykvist, it doesn't especially look like a Bergman film. It has its own look, plain yet suggestive and charismatic, like a Hopper painting — or like its star, Pernilla August's, remarkable face. The film

has a kind of intimate intensity that seems to radiate from her. As the beautifully shaded performances in both "Sofie" and this film make clear, Ms. Ullmann, like Mr. Bergman, is above all a director of actors. "When I started directing," she says, "I thought: 'This is it. The whole 40 years of being an actress have just been a school for this.' I got a new respect for actors and how creative they are, and they know that I think that. I don't think I was always a good mother, but I know I'm a good mother for actors because I allow them to grow themselves and I don't try to make a blueprint of myself."

One of the most memorable scenes in "Private Confessions," filmed in a single 10-minute take, is that of the last visit between Anna Bergman and Jacob, the dying confirmation priest, played by Max von Sydow. At one point, Mr. von Sydow says, "All these years I've been thinking about

you," and stops, apparently unable to go on. "I don't know what was in Max's mind," Ms. Ullmann says, "but suddenly he's starting to cry and he can't get the words. It's almost a minute before the next word comes. And we are so close, he knew that I wouldn't stop him, and I knew that he would continue, and allow Jacob and Max to come together. Because he knew that this was so right for the scene."

Directors earn moments like that. Mr. Bergman once told an interviewer that his first job was to make his actors feel secure, because it's the actor who goes in front of the camera and takes chances. Clearly, Ms. Ullmann is using much that she learned from him. As a director, she says, "He's a wonderful audience, he stirs you up a little, and then he allows the actor to take joy in doing the work. Because it's not anguish then, it's joy, tremendous joy."

## PROVERBIAL CONFLICTS

By RANDOLPH ROSS / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

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Liv Ullmann with Ingmar Bergman during a break in the filming of his "Hour of the Wolf" (1968).



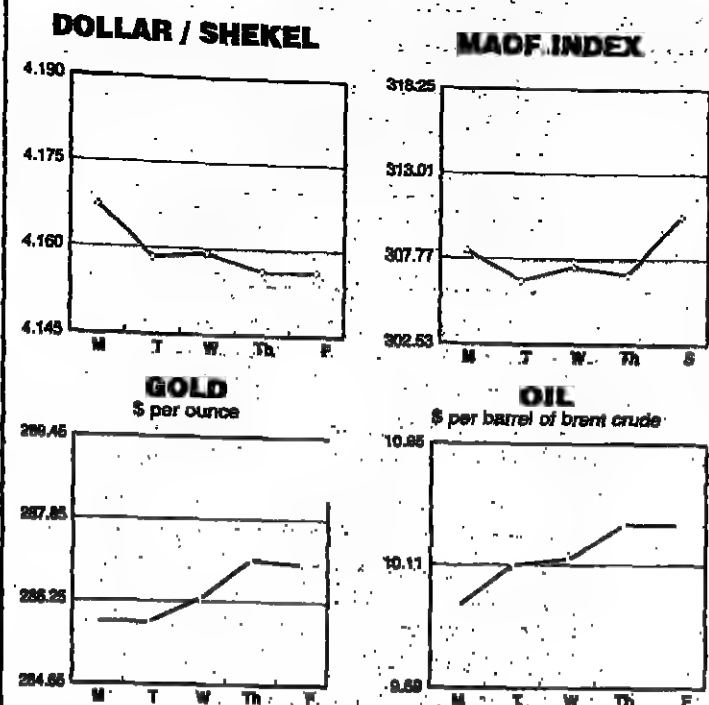
Monday,  
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# BUSINESS & FINANCE

The Jerusalem Post

## MARKETS

in brief



**'98 forex reserves up 10% to \$22.7b.**  
Foreign currency reserves reached \$22.7 billion in December, up \$223 million, or nearly 1 percent, from \$22.5b in November, and 10% since last year, according to the Bank of Israel. Overall foreign currency reserves grew by \$2.37b. in 1998 as the shekel's relatively high interest rates attracted investors from abroad. *Jessica Steinberg*

**Kaplan takes over as Income Tax Commissioner**  
Yonatan Kaplan yesterday began serving as acting income tax commissioner. Kaplan, 40, spent the last 16 years in the department, most recently as deputy to former income tax commissioner Doron Levy. Finance Minister Benjamin Netanyahu first canceled Kaplan's appointment in the hope of ultimately handing the job to Likud sympathizer Udi Barzilai, but a High Court ruling, in response to a Movement for Quality Government petition, overruled his decision and forced Kaplan's restoration to the commissioner's office. *Jessica Steinberg*

## Euro trading starts today

LONDON

(Reuters) - The euro is widely expected to get off to a firm start today when it faces its first test - the start of dealing in London, the world's largest foreign exchange center. Banks across the continent have been at pains to ensure that potentially expensive trading glitches will be avoided - but even if nothing goes wrong, it could be a day of confusion and volatility as dealers and investors get used to quoting prices in euros.

"We're seeing history in the making," said David Brown, chief economist at Bear Stearns in London. "It's not going to be a completely smooth process. The European markets will give the euro a warm welcome, but traders might prefer to stay on the sidelines initially. But the euro and the long end of the euro debt market will be in demand," he added.

Today heralds the historic first day when the majority of European stocks and bonds will be quoted in euros, no longer in marks, French francs or any other of the 11 currencies that make up the single currency.

The euro's birth also has created a euro government debt market estimated at \$1.86 trillion, rivaling the US Treasury market in size.

Today is also the first day of cross-border trading between the London and Frankfurt stock exchanges, through an alliance agreed last summer. Traders in London and Frankfurt will be linked directly with both exchanges.

Traders say the first real test for the euro will come when London, with the lion's share of the \$1.5 trillion-a-day global currency market, starts dealing.

Market analysts say there is a

growing perception that the euro has scope to strengthen against the dollar in the first quarter of its life.

"The generally held view is that the euro will kick off as a strong currency," said Rob Hayward, economic adviser at Bank of America, in London, adding that this could partly be due to investment flows into the euro.

Hayward expects the euro to strengthen to \$1.20 in the near term, from its expected starting rate today of around \$1.17.

Both the US and Europe face slowing economic growth, but Europe's current account boasts a solid surplus whereas the US has a record current account deficit. Such a differential would tend to lead to a stronger euro.

Moreover, some Asian central banks are expected to convert part of their foreign exchange reserves into euros.

A crucial element to ensure a smooth kick-off for the single currency is sufficient liquidity in the new European money market, an enormous market spanning 11 European countries.

Even though the ECB has taken precautions and is expected to provide generous liquidity to the market, dealers expect shortages of liquidity in the first few weeks of trading in euros. Trading could grind to a halt if liquidity dries up, and a rocky start to dealing in the new currency could harm confidence.

"There could be liquidity aberrations in the money markets that might drive short-term interest rates up, but the ECB should be on top of that fairly quickly," said Brown at Bear Stearns.

The first public test for the ECB comes on Tuesday, when it announces the allocation of its first main refinancing operations.



A young boy waves a euro flag, among the thousands gathered on January 1 around a huge euro symbol in Frankfurt's banking district.

## PWC to launch \$50m. local investment fund

By DAN GERSTENFELD

World-leading accounting firm PriceWaterhouseCoopers intends to set up an estimated \$50-million investment fund which "will invest in, among others, Israeli high-tech and life-sciences companies," PWC global managing partner Jeremy Brooks said yesterday.

Speaking at a press conference in Tel Aviv, Brooks said the fund will not compete with its clients. PWC, which recently merged and is now considered the world's largest accounting and consulting firm, intends to invest in several Israeli start-ups. He added that in the first stage the company will not invest more than \$2m-\$5m in each firm.

Avi Berger, managing partner of Kesselman & Kesselman, which represents PWC here, said the company was about to purchase a local large software house with hundreds of employees before the merger of Coopers & Lybrand and PriceWaterhouse last July.

He added that the company had already received an approval from Coopers but because of the merger

the program was canceled. Yossi Shimshoni, managing director of Kesselman Consultants, said the company is currently in negotiations to buy a local software company, but declined to provide further details.

Brooks said that PWC is willing to invest as much as \$1 billion a year, of which some \$500m. would be spent on improving the technological abilities of the company.

Brooks said that when the combined company had to choose a local representative between Kesselman and Somekh-Charikin - Israel's two biggest accounting firms - it decided to choose Kesselman because of its reputation.

He admitted that the company eventually agreed to compensate Somekh, which represented PriceWaterhouse in the past, but declined to say how much it paid. He added that the company will try to convince its former audit clients who continue to work with Somekh to move to Kesselman.

PWC has a worldwide turnover of some \$15b., with 40,000 employees and 9,000 partners.

## Transport Ministry panel recommends cargo competition

By NAMI SHAPIRO

In a move which could be seen as a blow to privatization-bound El Al, a Transport Ministry committee headed by Director-General Nahum Langenthal has recommended opening the cargo field to greater competition, the ministry announced yesterday. It would grant CAL a full license to carry freight and allow more cargo charter flights.

Although El Al officials have expressed fear at the creation of a new Israeli cargo airline, especially one which would not be hampered by El Al's ban on Shabbat flights, El Al spokesman Nachman Kleiman yesterday refused to issue any comment on the ministry's announcement to the press, on the grounds that it had promised to inform the airline first of any decision on this matter.

At present, El Al carries about 60 percent of the cargo to and from Israel, while CAL, an agricultural cargo company which mainly leases aircraft and crews

from El Al, carries about 16%.

Airline sources estimate that cargo revenue normally provides a quarter to a third of airline income.

Transport Minister Shaul Yaishalon will soon announce his decision concerning the first stage of the recommendations, the ministry said. Additional recommendations, concerning further liberalization, will be issued in the future.

The Langenthal Committee was appointed to consider liberalization as a means to lowering prices and improving service for shippers. At present, El Al is the only Israeli company authorized to operate scheduled cargo flights abroad, while CAL is authorized to operate cargo charter flights with aircraft leased from El Al and foreign airlines.

The committee said that centralizing the cargo market has resulted in high fees, discrimination between clients, and inefficiency. It found that cargo prices had risen by 20% in dollar terms from 1990 to 1997, compared to a 5% drop in passenger air

fares and a drop of 2% in production costs during the same period.

The committee also said that Israel has lagged behind the rest of the world in its rate of increase of air cargo haulage.

The committee said that opening the market to competition would not significantly hurt El Al, since cargo only constitutes about 20% of the company's income and involves an even smaller percentage of its work force. In any case, it said, it expects competition to increase the entire cargo market.

In a terse statement, Kleiman said that El Al could not relate to "statements in the press" concerning the committee's findings.

"The Transport Minister promised the chairman of the company and the representatives of the workers that the findings of the committee would be presented firstly to the company's management and the representatives of the workers."

Until management has been presented with the recommendations, it will not comment on them, he said.

## Diamond exports down 11% in '98

By JESSICA STEINBERG

Polished diamond exports totaled \$3.6 billion last year, down 11.4 percent from \$4.1 billion in 1997, the Industry and Trade Ministry said yesterday. Imports of unpolished diamonds decreased 27% to \$2.7b. from \$3.8b. in 1997.

The drastic slump in unpolished diamond imports is attributable, according to the ministry, to the De Beers syndicate's recently adopted policy to cut down on raw-material supplies to stone polishing centers across the world in light of slumping prices.

Meanwhile, imports of polished diamonds grew 21% to over \$1b. up from \$863 million in 1997, reflecting the trend toward shifting polishing to lower-wage countries.

The increase in imports choked many of the local diamond manufacturers, forcing some to close their factories and others to look abroad for cheaper labor.

The diamond business was also affected by last year's market crash in southeast Asia, which caused narrowing revenue margins and sales losses, according to the ministry.

At the same time, the US market will absorb a hefty percentage of Israel's diamond exports this year, although at lower prices, the ministry said. The US remains the world's major diamond purchasing market, and acquired 61% of Israel's exports in 1998, up from 50% in 1997 and 44% in 1996. The Asian market made up 14% of the polished diamond export market in 1998, while Europe remained steady at 17%, compared to 16% in 1997.

## Treasury denies Infrastructure Ministry claim for NIS260m. in funding for northern roads

By JESSICA STEINBERG

The Treasury yesterday denied a National Infrastructure Ministry announcement that it would receive some NIS 260 million to build roads in the North.

While ministry spokeswoman Zia Pfeffer claimed that "we got what we wanted," a Treasury spokesman said the plan is "impossible to implement" as long as the current budget impasse has not been broken.

Infrastructure Ministry Director-

General Yaakov Katz was optimistic.

"I hope the budget will be passed soon, just like everyone else hopes it will," he said.

The Knesset's failure to pass the 1999 budget by the December 31 deadline means the various ministries up to one-twelfth of the previous year's total expenditures each month, adjusted for the current consumer price index.

While existing contracts which run into this year will be met, any

commitments for 2000 and later must wait for the new budget, Accountant-General Shai Talmon said last week.

"The Treasury and the government have stated there will be no exceptions with regard to implementing ministries' long-term planning," said the spokesman.

According to the Infrastructure Ministry, the NIS 260 million will be distributed through 2001. NIS 60 million will be used for Route 90, and another NIS 198 million for general road development in

the North.

It's a matter of election economics, insisted MK Efi Oshaya (Labor). "I'm all for building roads in the North," but any decision regarding infrastructure at this time is clearly directed at winning votes.

The residents of the North aren't stupid enough to think that [Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu] and [National Infrastructure Minister Ariel] Sharon can buy their votes with this kind of announcement."

Oshaya said. "We've been yelling for two years that to end the recession, we have to build and wake up the entire economy. I'm telling Sharon and Netanyahu to act responsibly, because after the elections we'll still have to look after Israel and this upcoming election could bankrupt us."

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## 'A superstar or a freak'

Folks react to Mike Tyson setting up shop in Phoenix

The topic was Mike Tyson and the radio talk show host wasn't conceding his distaste for the ex-heavyweight champ's move to Arizona.

"He's a convicted rapist who has shown no repentance," the host said. "Ten thousand people have moved to Phoenix since Mike Tyson did and 99 percent of them have been better citizens than he has."

The callers, though, weren't so sure. The Mike Tyson they saw wasn't the felon who went berserk in the ring and bit Evander Holyfield's ears. Or the Tyson who pleaded no contest to attacking two men following a fender-bender involving his wife.

They saw a Tyson who a few days earlier had handed out turkeys to poor families. They saw a Tyson who visited teen-age inmates and paid for the funeral of a 2-year-old girl shot to death during a burglary.

More importantly, they saw Tyson succeeding in a somewhat desperate, last-ditch attempt to rehabilitate his image.

"You may not like him but he's doing things other people won't," one caller said. "Besides, he's a celebrity. And we need more celebrities."

Celebrity is not a word heard often near the Madison Square Garden Gym, which sits on a corner in a crumbling area west of downtown Phoenix.

Word had spread that Tyson trained here, and folks waited patiently to get an autograph, perhaps even a picture.

This was not a gathering of those who chortled when Tyson had to register as a sex offender recently after renting a house in posh Scottsdale to train for his January 16 comeback fight against Francois Botha. This was not a crowd to criticize Tyson's charitable efforts as publicity moves aimed at keeping him from going back to prison.

The public may be split in two camps, but this was the faithful. And they were eager to get a glimpse of the fearsome former champion.

"People think I'm either a superstar or a freak," Tyson said later. "I don't blame them. I can relate to that."

Those with enough patience to wait got their chance with Tyson, who invited them in later for pictures and autographs. But first there was work to be done.

After 19 months out of the ring for biting Holyfield, Tyson was once again discovering his skills in the gym. This was a day for sparring and Tyson was eager to lace on the gloves, despite his general distaste for long training camps.

"I love fighting but training is such a pain," Tyson said. "It's so monotonous. You've got a grown man telling another grown man what to do. It's just not natural."

Listening intently to new trainer Tommy Brooks — who was in Holyfield's corner for Tyson's two losses to the heavyweight champ — Tyson worked on showing different angles and moving his head to avoid being hit.

It soon became apparent that the

quickness was still there, even at age 32. And the punches thudded relentlessly against the heads of his sparring partners, even through the bigger gloves and headgear of a training session.

### MY CALL

By TIM DAHLBERG

signed autographs, posed for pictures and put kids on his lap. Two older women crowded close and he pulled both in by the shoulders for a group picture as they squealed in delight.

The contrast of being beloved by some and hated by others isn't lost on Tyson. He understands better than most that he's a polarizing figure whose ring conquests have won him millions of fans and whose exploits outside the ring have alienated him to millions of others.

Tyson laughed later as he told a story that illustrates his sometimes bizarre appeal. It took place in September at Massachusetts General Hospital as he was undergoing psychiatric tests ordered by Nevada boxing officials before he could return to the ring.

"There was a nurse in her white nursing outfit that came in and she says she wants her picture taken with me," Tyson said. "I said, 'Ma'am, don't you realize I'm here because people think I'm crazy and I'm a convicted rapist?'"

She said, "I don't care. I just want my picture taken with you." So I grabbed her real tight and held her, and she got her picture."

There was no posing for pictures an hour later as Tyson motored up in his Rolls Royce to a detention camp for teen-age offenders set up behind barbed wire in tents in the desert.

Some local talk shows had criticized the visit as an image-building stunt, and, indeed, TV cameras were on hand to record the event. The media had been invited by the sheriff, though, not Tyson, and the boxer even tried to shoo them out of a tent while he spoke to about a dozen prisoners sitting at metal picnic tables.

"All the people who complain about me being here should come and talk to these kids. I don't see them here."

Tyson said, "They're scared to even look at these kids. They're afraid they'll rob them."

For 20 minutes, Tyson talked nonstop to the teens about self respect, gangs, growing up and being in prison, like he was for three years while serving his sentence for rape in Indiana. He talked with the knowledge that he could go back again, for his assault plea in Maryland or a parole violation in Indiana.

"In a real prison they kill you because they don't like the way you walk," Tyson said. "I just left prison a little while ago and you don't want to go there."

The talk is filled with some unguarded and revealing moments. "To this day I can't believe I'm Mike Tyson. People shake my hands and I think they're crazy," he said. "I've been a millionaire since I was 18, but I'm still dealing with becoming a man. I haven't started becoming a man until recently."

## Orangemen routed in Orange Bowl

Steve Spurrier-led Gators defeat Syracuse, 31-10

MIAMI (AP) — Steve Spurrier's second trip to the Orange Bowl was a lot more satisfying than his first.

The coach led Florida here as a Heisman Trophy-winning quarterback in 1967. He returned this year with a game plan that went so well that he rewarded himself.

People said all season that the Gators were not as explosive as usual, but Spurrier's Fun 'N Gun offense was fully loaded Saturday night.

Shut down by the nation's top defense in a loss to Florida State in the regular-season finale, the seventh-ranked Gators rebounded with a dominating performance in a 31-10 rout of No. 18 Syracuse on Saturday night.

"I didn't get a game ball in 1967, so I gave one to myself tonight," Spurrier said. He also awarded one to interim defensive coordinator Bob Sanders.

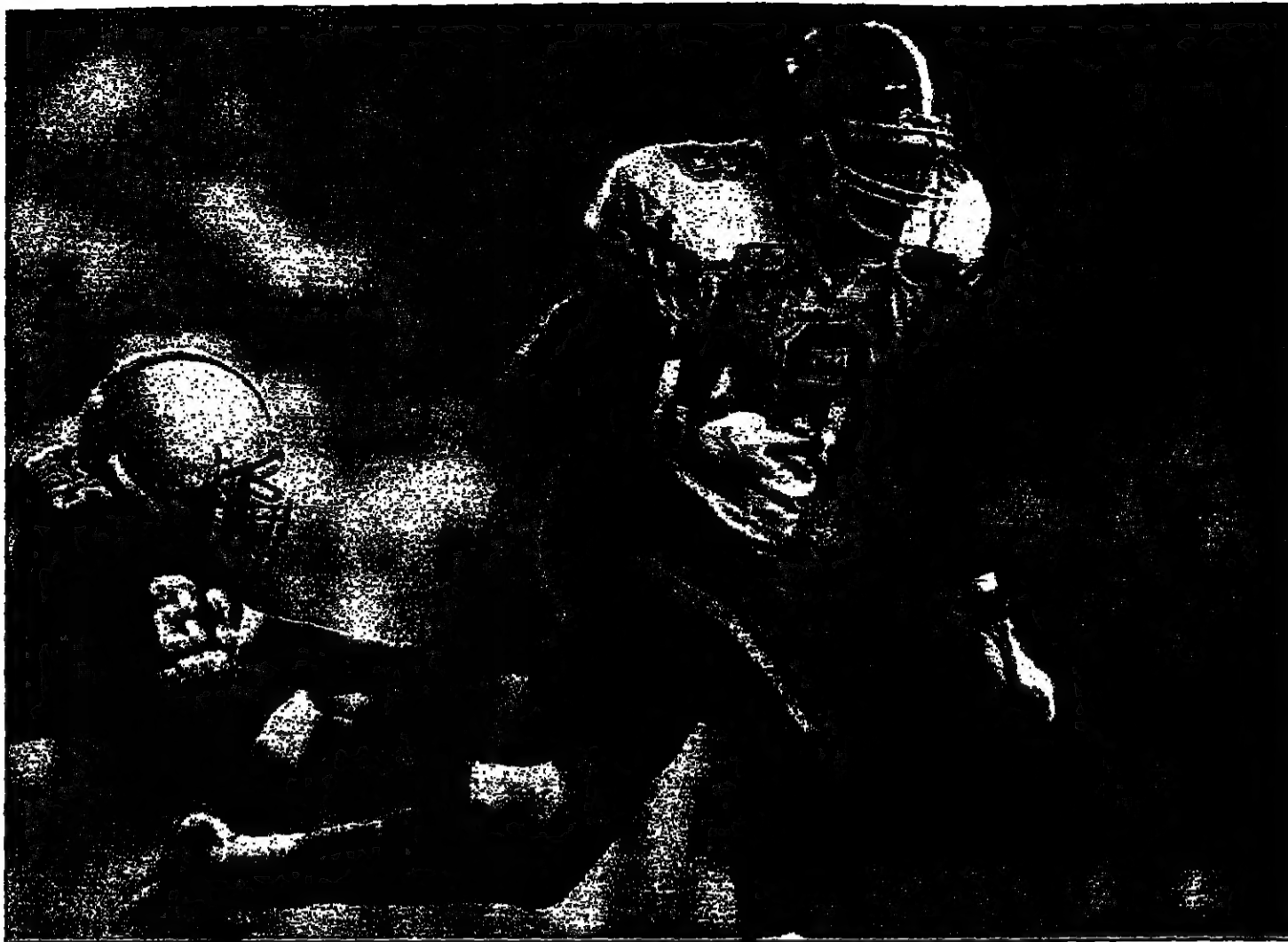
"This is the first time we've won three straight bowl games.... Our bowl history is not very illustrious," he added. "Syracuse probably didn't play their best game, and that helped."

Doug Johnson tossed two TD passes before breaking his left leg and Jesse Palmer threw for one score and ran for one, proving once again that Florida's offense flourishes regardless of who's at quarterback.

Johnson was injured late in the second quarter. Palmer, the starter for six games before breaking his collarbone on October 10, threw his TD pass for a 21-3 lead on his second play.

The victory enabled Florida (10-2) to finish with at least 10 victories for the sixth straight season. The Gators' only losses were to top-ranked Tennessee and No. 2 Florida State, who will play for the national championship tonight in the Fiesta Bowl.

We'd like to be ordering championship rings in the next few weeks



ON THE RUN — Florida WR Nafis Karim (r) picks up yardage after catching a pass from QB Jesse Palmer in second-quarter action. Syracuse's Quentin Harris moves in from the left.

like we've done in the past. We've gone two years without winning one. But hopefully we can get back to winning championships real soon."

The Gators stated their case for a top-5 finish with 441 yards of

offense and a suffocating defense that contained Donovan McNabb and limited Syracuse (8-4) to a second-quarter field goal until Maurice Jackson scored on a 62-yard reception with just over three minutes to go.

Travis Taylor caught both of Johnson's TD passes, and had seven receptions for 159 yards to earn most valuable player honors. Terry Jackson rushed for 108 yards on 21 carries in his first extensive action.

The defense, meanwhile, answered the question of whether it would be affected by the departure of defensive coordinator Bob Stoops, who left in November to coach Oklahoma. The answer is no.

## UConn whips Hoyas, stays No. 1

### NCAA BASKETBALL

STORRS, Conn. (AP) — Three days after recording a career high for assists, Khalid El-Amin turned into the hot scorer for top-ranked Connecticut, getting 17 points in as many minutes in the first half.

"I try to let the other team decide how I'm going to play and what I'm going to do," El-Amin said after leading UConn to an 87-64 victory over Georgetown on Saturday night.

The Hoyas had few answers for the fiery 5-foot-10 point guard.

He had one 3-pointer, but did most of his damage from inside, challenging the much larger Hoya post players.

He finished with 22 points and one assist. El-Amin had nine assists on Wednesday in the Huskies' 100-76 win over Villanova.

The Huskies' quick-strike offense put Georgetown away early.

UConn (11-0, 3-0 Big East) led 14-2 after four minutes and by as many as 27 points. El-Amin had four points in the opening run.

Georgetown (7-5, 0-3) had few good looks at the basket or second chances and shot an icy 22 percent in the first half.

No. 12 St. John's 77 Rutgers 73

In Piscataway, N.J., Ron Artest scored a season-high 25 points and Collin Charles had eight points over the final 52 seconds to lead the Red Storm to their eighth straight victory.

Bootsy Thornton added 14 points and Tyrone Grant had 11 for the Red Storm (11-2, 3-0 Big East), who struggled coming off a 10-day layoff. St. John's trailed by 14 points early and didn't take control until it picked up its defense in the second half, when it held Rutgers (9-4, 2-2) to 29 percent shooting (8-of-27) from the field.

Rashod Kent and Rob Hodgson each had 18 points to lead the Scarlet Knights, but they combined for only eight in the second half.

No. 18 Kansas 95 Texas A&M 57

Seven-foot Eric Chenoweth scored a career-high 25 points and had 17 rebounds to lead the Jayhawks to a home win.

Ryan Robertson scored all 13 of his first-half points in a 30-3 run by Kansas (9-3, 1-0 Big 12).

Clifton Cook had 18 points for Texas A&M, which lost its third straight after a surprising 7-1 start and committed 24 turnovers in its conference opener.

Ohio St. 78 No. 19 Wisconsin 74 (OT)

Michael Redd scored seven of his season-high 30 points in overtime for the visiting Buckeyes.

Redd, who sent the game into



HANG TIME — University of Connecticut guard Khalid El-Amin (r) takes a shot around the attempted block by Georgetown guard Kevin Braswell.

overtime with a short jumper with 16 seconds left in regulation, scored the first three points in overtime to give the Buckeyes a 71-68 lead.

Wisconsin came back with six straight points, including four by Sean Mason, to get ahead 74-71. But Redd hit two free throws and Brian Brown made a 3-pointer with just under a minute left to put Ohio State in front 76-74.

After Mason missed a 3-point attempt, Redd made two free throws with 11 seconds left to put the game out of reach.

Scorione Penn added 18 points for Ohio State (12-3, 2-0 Big Ten). Mason scored 22 points to lead Wisconsin (12-3, 0-2), while Ty Calderwood added 15.

No. 20 Arkansas 80 LSU 75 Kareem Reid had 14 points and Derek Hood added 10 points and 15 rebounds as the visiting Razorbacks extended their winning streak to five games in the SEC opener for both teams.

Arkansas (11-2) shot almost 64 percent in the first half, including

going 6-of-8 from 3-point range. The Razorbacks did not allow LSU (8-2), which had won five straight, to get closer than five points until the closing minutes of the game.

Maurice Carter scored 13 points in LSU's 17-4 run that cut the lead to 68-67 to play but the Tigers went the six possessions without a basket.

Carter finished with a career-high 35 points and was 8-of-15 on 3-pointers.

No. 24 Texas Christian 101 N.C.-Asheville 67

Marquise Gainous scored 21 points to lead the host Horned Frogs, who blew the game open over the final 12 minutes with a 42-22 run.

Ryan Carroll and Lee Nailon each had 16 points for the Horned Frogs (12-2), while Prince Fowler had 15.

Kevin Martin's 2 was the only bright spot for UNC-Asheville (1-1), scoring 21 points. The Carolinians trailed 44-29 at half-time.

### College Basketball Top 25

How the top 25 teams in the AP poll fared Saturday:

1. Connecticut (11-0) beat Georgetown 87-64.
2. Duke (12-1) did not play.
3. Cincinnati (12-0) did not play.
4. Maryland (10-1) did not play.
5. Stanford (11-2) beat Oregon State 72-56.
6. Arizona (8-1) lost to No. 10 UCLA 82-75.
7. Kentucky (12-3) beat Florida 63-68.
8. Indiana (13-3) did not play.
9. North Carolina (13-3) beat No. 14 Clemson 69-53.
10. UCLA (8-2) beat No. 6 Arizona 62-75.
11. Purdue (12-2) vs. No. 16 Minnesota, ppd.
12. St. John's (11-2) beat Rutgers 77-73.
13. Michigan State (11-3) beat Louisville 69-57.
14. Clemson (11-3) lost to No. 9 North Carolina 68-65.
15. New Mexico (12-1) beat New Mexico State 77-66.
16. Minnesota (9-1) at No. 11 Purdue, ppd.
17. Auburn (13-0) beat Tennessee 94-62.
18. Kansas (9-3) beat Texas A&M 95-57.
19. Wisconsin (12-3) lost to Ohio State 78-74 (OT).
20. Arkansas (11-2) beat LSU 80-75.
21. Iowa (10-1) did not play.
22. Syracuse (10-3) beat West Virginia 63-67.
23. Pittsburgh (8-5) did not play.
24. Texas Christian (12-2) beat North Carolina-Asheville 101-67.
25. Oklahoma State (9-3) beat Kansas State 75-60 (OT).

## Davenport backs Sampras on skipping Aussie Open

PERTH (Reuters) — Tennis world No. 1 Lindsay Davenport has thrown her support behind fellow American Pete Sampras' decision to miss this month's Australian Open.

Australian Open tournament director Paul McNamee on Saturday announced Sampras' decision to take a break from the game after receiving the news from the player's agent Jeff Schwartz that he was too tired to line up for the year's first Grand Slam event.

World no. 1 Sampras pleaded fatigue after an exhausting end-of-season campaign to retain his top ranking.

The decision means Sampras could lose the coveted top ranking after the Australian Open, with

Spain's Carlos Moya and Australia's Pat Rafter the leading contenders to take over the crown.

Davenport said on Sunday that she understood the reasons for Sampras' decision, and that he was within his rights to withdraw from the tournament, which starts in Melbourne on January 18.

"The first minute I heard it, I was really shocked and couldn't believe it," Davenport said of Sampras, expected to return to tournament play in late February.

"But the more you think about it, the more you can understand it. He has played on the tour probably eight or 10 years now, has been No. 1 for six years and put in such an effort for the last six months of last year."

## Blatter calls for World Cup every two years

ZURICH (Reuters) — FIFA president Sepp Blatter has called for the World Cup finals to be staged every two years.

"I want a football world championship every two years. Then the national teams will get the rankings they deserve," Blatter said in an interview published in the mass circulation Sunday newspaper *Sonnstatt*.

"I'm calling for a clear declaration: Jo we want national teams or do we

only want club football?" Blatter said he favored holding regional or continental championships during every uneven year and the World Cup every second year.

The most successful teams in the continental championships would qualify for the World Cup.

"The current four-year rotation is outdated. It comes from the thirties (1930s) when the teams still travelled from continent to continent by ship," Blatter said.

SCOREBOARD  
SCOTTISH SOCCER  
Premier league result yesterday:  
Rangers 2, Celtic 2.







## Inside

## Tyson Westward Ho!

Page 22

## Aussie spinners strike

Page 21

Sports Editors  
Joe Hoffman & Ori Lewis

## Hungary, Israel take youth soccer honors

By ORI LEWIS

Hungary won the International Winter Youth soccer tournament which ended yesterday.

Their under-18 side beat Belgium 1-0 in their last game in the league-style competition yesterday, thus securing their victory in the annual event.

Israel's under-18 team won the juniors event after drawing 1-1 with Sweden.

In the other juniors match yesterday, Switzerland beat Malta 5-0.

In yesterday's main youth group match, Israel went down 1-0 to Turkey in Herzliya in a match in which the hosts should have managed to score at least once.

Yaniv Katan had the ball in the net from an off-side position and was later denied a penalty after he was put clear and was brought down by the Turkish goalkeeper.

In the other youth fixture, European champions Ireland beat Yugoslavia 1-0.



JACKSONVILLE, Fla. (AP) — Mark Brunell hasn't shaken off all the rust yet. Thanks to Fred Taylor and a burst of speed from

Jimmy Smith, he'll have another week to work on it.

Taylor ran for 162 yards and Smith beat fellow Pro Bowler Ty Law for a momentum-shifting touchdown yesterday, leading the Jacksonville Jaguars to a 25-10 victory over the New England Patriots in the wild-card playoff.

Returning from a sprained ankle he sustained five weeks ago, Brunell never really got untracked, finishing 14-for-34 for 161 yards.

But he threw a great pass to Smith, who simply outran Law on a sideline pattern for a 37-yard touchdown after the Patriots cut a 12-point half-time deficit to 10-10.

Meanwhile, Taylor easily won the matchup against fellow rookie Robert Edwards, who finished with just 28 yards on 17 carries. Each of them rushed for more than 1,000 yards this season.

New England's up-and-down season ended at 9-8 and with a rash of injuries, placing doubt whether Pete Carroll will return for a third season. Carroll could not rely on quarterback Drew Bledsoe, receiver Terry Glenn and middle linebacker Ted Johnson, all sidelined with injuries.

After winning their first home playoff game, the Jaguars (12-5) travel to New York to play the Jets next Sunday. It will mark coach Tom Coughlin's first meeting with his old mentor, Bill Parcells, since the Jaguars lost to the Parcells-coached Patriots in the 1996 AFC Championship game.

The Jaguars will surely need a better performance from Brunell, who was anything but the scrambling daredevil who built his reputation in a pair of 1996 playoff upsets over Denver and Buffalo.

Limping and unable to run, he had trouble moving the offense consistently. It seemed like it would cost the Jaguars the game when Scott Zolak led the Patriots on two long



Jacksonville Jaguars' Fred Taylor (28) runs past New England Patriots' Lawyer Milloy (36) for a 46-yard gain in the first quarter at Alltel Stadium in Jacksonville. The run set up a field goal. (AP)

drives in the third quarter, the first ending up 85 yards and 8:48, to cut Jacksonville's lead to 12-7.

On New England's next possession, Zolak led the Patriots to the Jacksonville 9. But a drop by Lovett Purnell on the right-hand stalled the drive and they settled for Adam

Vinatieri's field goal.

Brunell opened the next drive with a perfect pass to Smith on the right sideline, one he dropped, apparently bothered by the bright sunshine.

Five plays later, Smith got his second chance, streaking by Law for the catch just inside the back of the

end zone.

Joel Smeenge fumbled a fumble minutes later that the Jaguars converted into Mike Hollis' 34-yard Mike Hollis field goal.

Jacksonville got another short field goal after a Patriots desperation drive failed deep in New England

territory.

That capped the team's first playoff victory since the well-documented 30-27 victory in Denver in 1996.

Cardinals 20, Cowboys 7

Jake Plummer showed he was worth every penny of his new \$29 million contract.

With a pressure-proof performance that carried the Arizona Cardinals to the franchise's first postseason victory since 1947, the unfazed Plummer burned the heavily favored host Cowboys with two touchdown passes in a runaway 20-7 wild-card victory.

The Cardinals, playing in the NFC playoffs for the first time since 1982, will meet the NFC Central champion Minnesota Vikings next Sunday.

The Cardinals last won a playoff game in 1947 when they were in Chicago and beat Philadelphia 28-21 in the NFL championship game. They last made the playoffs in 1982, a strike year, and 1975 before that, both times in St. Louis.

By contrast, the Cowboys have been in the playoffs 23 years and won three Super Bowls in the 1990s. The Cowboys hadn't lost at home in the playoffs since 1983, winning seven straight.

Dallas, champions of the NFC East with a 10-6 record — and no losses in the division — beat the Cardinals twice in the regular season. But Plummer showed no playoff nerves in the third meeting.

Arizona, which led 10-0 at half-time, shocked the playoff-hardened Cowboys to start the second half on a 74-yard run by Adrian Murrell, followed by a 3-yard touchdown pass by Plummer to a wide-open Larry Centers. The run was the longest against the Cowboys in their 52-game playoff history.

## NFL Playoff Glance

## Wild Cards

Saturday  
Miami 24, Buffalo 17  
Arizona 20, Dallas 7  
Yesterday  
Jacksonville 25, New England 10  
Green Bay at San Francisco

## Divisional Playoffs

Saturday, January 9  
Green Bay at San Francisco at Atlanta  
Miami at Denver  
Sunday, January 10  
Jacksonville at New York Jets  
Arizona at Minnesota

## Sluggish Maccabi slips past Herzliya

By ELI GRONER

It wasn't pretty, and it certainly doesn't bode well four days before EuroLeague action resumes, but Maccabi Tel Aviv escaped Yad Eliahu with a 78-71 win over Bnei Herzliya in National Basketball League action last night.

The five-time defending champions weren't able to gain any ground on the leaders though, as Hapoel Jerusalem maintained its two-game advantage at the top of the standings with a home win over Ramat Gan.

Mac TA 78 Bnei Herzliya 71  
Nadav Henefeld continued his offensive revival under coach Pini Gershon, tallying 17 points and leading Maccabi past the Herzlians.

But to Gershon's dismay, Henefeld seemed to be the only inspired player on the court, and a similarly sluggish overall performance will not be nearly enough against Tau Vitoria in EuroLeague action in Spain on Thursday.

"We played poorly," acknowledged Gershon after the game. Fortunately for Maccabi, Herzliya did everything in its power to lose, tossing up a bevy of bricks and airballs whenever it appeared that it had a chance to seriously challenge the Tel Avivians.

See SLUGGISH, Page 22

## Orange Basketball League

## W L Pts

Hapoel Jerusalem	11	1	23
Maccabi Tel Aviv	9	3	21
Hapoel Holon	8	4	20
Gali Eilat	7	5	19
Maccabi Ranaana	6	6	18
Roshon Lezion	6	6	18
Maccabi Ramat Gan	5	7	17
Hapoel Eilat	5	7	17
Bnei Herzliya	5	7	17
Maccabi Haifa	5	7	17
Green Shimon	3	9	15
Hapoel Tel Aviv	2	10	14

## United beat Middlesbrough 3-1 to earn FA Cup tie with Liverpool

LONDON (Reuters) — Manchester United, who have won the English FA Cup a record nine times, came back from behind to clinch a 3-1 win over Middlesbrough yesterday and set up a fascinating fourth-round clash against Liverpool.

After a goalless first half in the third-round tie, Andy Townsend gave Middlesbrough the lead in the 52nd minute when he made a clever run into the left-hand side

of the box and struck the ball superbly inside the right-hand post with his left foot.

But striker Andy Cole produced the same kind of composure for United's first goal in the 68th minute, taking a pass from Ryan Giggs on the right-hand side of the penalty area and blasting the ball into the roof of the net.

Denis Irwin then put United ahead from the penalty spot in

the 82nd minute after midfielder Nicky Butt was brought down on the edge of the area. Giggs struck a third in injury time.

In the fourth-round ties to be played on January 23 and 24, United will now play host to five-times winners Liverpool who eased their way through with a comfortable 3-0 victory over first division Port Vale on Sunday.

It will be the most glamorous clash of the round after the draw

was made yesterday. United beat Liverpool 1-0 in the 1996 final.

A penalty from striker Michael Owen in the 34th minute and a headed goal from fellow England international Paul Ince four minutes later effectively ensured victory for Liverpool in the first half against Vale.

A fierce left-footed shot from Robbie Fowler in the dying seconds finished off the scoring for the English premier league side who last won the trophy in 1992. Port Vale, based in Stoke, are struggling near the bottom of the first division, rarely threatened to upset Liverpool.

FA Cup fourth round draw — (1 denotes first division, 2 second, 3 third, 4 minor leagues)

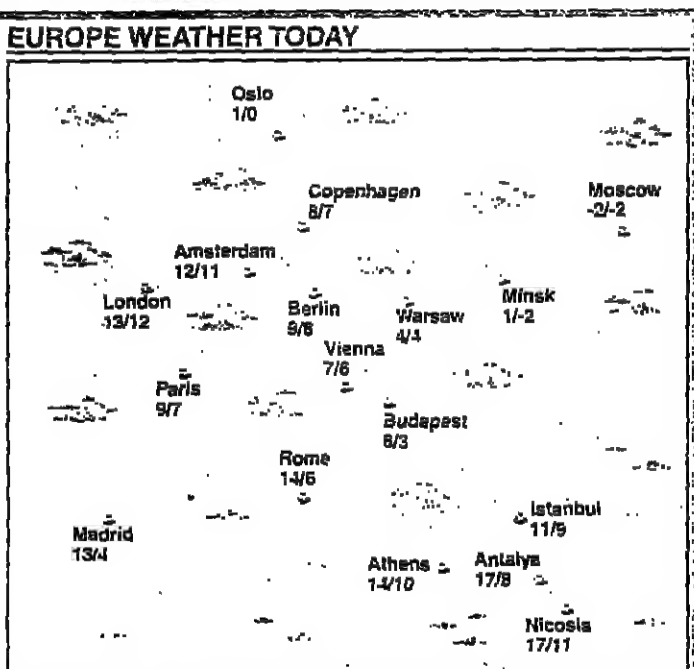
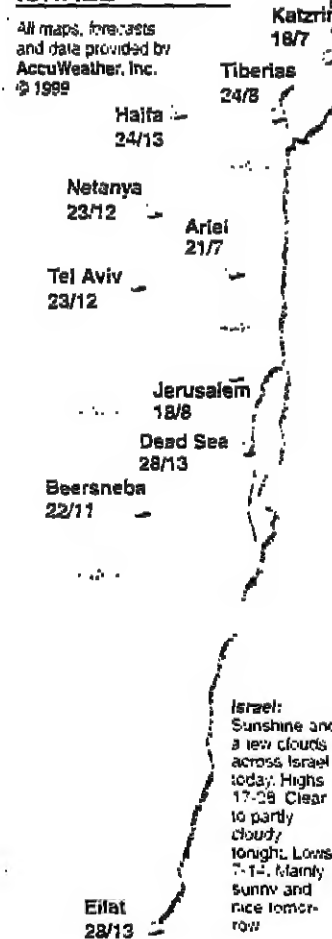
Sheffield Wednesday v Stockport County (1), Wolverhampton Wanderers (1) v Preston North End (1) or Arsenal, Bristol Rovers (1) v Leyton Orient (1), Wrexham (1) v Bournemouth Town (1), Portsmouth (1) v Reading and Diamonds (1), or Leeds United, Oxford United (1) v Chelsea, Sheffield United (1) or Notts County (1) v Cardiff (1) or Yeovil (1), Swindon (1) or Barnsley (1) v Burnley (1), Newcastle United v Bradford City (1), Leicester City v Coventry City, Aston Villa v Southampton or Fulham (1), Blackburn Rovers v Sunderland (1), West Ham United or Swansea (1) v Derby County, Manchester United v Liverpool, Wimbledon v Tottenham Hotspur, Everton v Ipswich Town (1).

Ties to be played on January 23 or 24.

## EUROPE WEATHER TODAY

## THE WEATHER

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Shown is today's weather. Temperatures are today's highs and tonight's lows.

**ISRAEL CITIES**

City	Today High/Low	Tuesday High/Low	Wednesday High/Low	Thursday High/Low
Ariel	21/7	21/7	17/6	14/5
Beer Sheva	22/11	22/11	18/5	15/1
Dead Sea	13/3	13/3	13/3	13/3
Haifa	24/13	24/13	20/6	16/4
Jerusalem	18/4	18/4	13/5	11/2
Katmon	18/4	18/4	13/5	11/2
Netanya	23/12	23/12	18/6	15/2
Tiberias	22/7	22/7	18/6	15/2
Tel Aviv	23/12	23/12	18/6	15/2
Yotvata	22/7	22/7	18/6	15/2

**INTERNATIONAL CITIES**

City	Today High/Low	Tuesday High/Low	Wednesday High/Low	Thursday High/Low
Amsterdam	11/21	11/21	12/5	13/5
Beijing	12/5	12/5	11/2	11/2
Berlin	9/18	9/18	10/5	11/2
Buenos Aires	12/23	12/23	13/5	14/7
Chicago	12/21	12/21	10/5	11/2
Frankfurt	8/19	8/19	10/5	11/2
Hong Kong	21/7	21/7	10/5	11/2
London	13/23	13/23	11/2	12/5
Los Angeles	13/23	13/23	11/2	12/5
Madrid	13/23	13/23	11/2	12/5
Moscow	13/23	13/23	11/2	12/5
New York	13/23	13/23	11/2	12/5
Paris	13/23	13/23	11/2	12/5
Rio de Janeiro	28/32	28/32	28/32	28/32
Rome	13/23	13/23	11/2	12/5
Sydney	21/7	21/7	10/5	11/2
Taipei	13/23	13/23	11/2	12/5
Tokyo	13/23	13/23	11/2	12/5
Winnipeg	13/23	13/23	11/2	12/5
Zurich	13/23	13/23	11/2	12/5

**NORTH AMERICA WEATHER TODAY**

City	Today High/Low	Tuesday High/Low	Wednesday High/Low	Thursday High/Low
Anchorage	4/8	4/8	4/8	4/8
Atlanta	13/23	13/23	11/2	12/5
Boston	13/23	13/23	11/2	12/5
Calgary	13/23	13/23	11/2	12/5
Chicago	12/21	12/21	10/5	11/2
Denver	13/23	13/23	11/2	12/5
Detroit	13/23	13/23	11/2	12/5
Houston	13/23	13/23	11/2	12/5
Los Angeles	13/23	13/23	11/2	12/5
Manila	28/32	28/32	28/32	28/32
Montreal	13/23	13/23	11/2	12/5
New York City	13/23	13/23	11/2	12/5
San Francisco	13/23	13/23	11/2	12/5
Seattle	13/23	13/23	11/2	12/5
Salt Lake City	13/23	13/23	11/2	12/5
St. Louis	13/23	13/23	11/2	12/5
Toronto	13/23	13/23	11/2	12/5
Vancouver	13/23	13/23	11/2	12/5
Washington	13/23	13/23	11/2	12/5
Winnipeg	13/23	13/23	11/2	12/5
Yokohama	28/32	28/32	28/32	28/32

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